

PROCEEDINGS
of the seventh

Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems



Held at

Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, June 16 and 17, 1949



242



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Program for the Seventh Annual Conference on
Mennonite Cultural Problems

Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, June 16-17, 1949

**EDUCATIONAL SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF
MENNONITE AND AFFILIATED COLLEGES**

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

Morning Session, 9:00 A. M. to 12:00 M.

CHAIRMAN: Ed G. Kaufman, Bethel College

Devotions

Theme: "Problems of General Administration"

"The Effective Board of Control"

Arnold Funk, Hillsboro, Kansas

"The Effective Organization of the President's Office"

Ernest E. Miller, Goshen College

"The Office of the Business Manager"

Harry Martens, Bethel College

Afternoon Session, 1:30 to 4:00 P. M.

CHAIRMAN: Lloyd L. Ramseyer, Bluffton College

Devotions

Theme: "Problems of Internal Administration"

"The Office of the Academic Dean"

C. K. Lehman, Eastern Mennonite College

"The Office of the Dean of Students"

Dean of Women

Viola Good, Goshen College

"Organization of the Faculty for Effective Instruction and Research"

J. S. Schultz, Bluffton College

CULTURAL PROBLEMS SESSIONS

Evening Session, 7:30 to 9:00 P. M.

CHAIRMAN: L. J. Franz, Tabor College

Devotions

Theme: "Mennonite Parochial Schools"

"Why Established and What They Have Achieved"

Silas Hertzler, Goshen College

"Disadvantages of the Parochial System"

Marvin Harder, University of Wichita,
Wichita, Kansas

Discussion

FRIDAY, JUNE 17

Morning Session, 9:00 A. M. to 12:00 M.

CHAIRMAN: Walter Dyck, Newton, Kansas

Devotions

"The Growth and Use of Tobacco Among Mennonites"

J. Winfield Fretz, Bethel College

Discussion

"Problems of a Conscientious Objector in the Legal Practice"

Elvin Souder, Souderton, Pennsylvania

Discussion

Afternoon Session, 1:30 to 4:00 P. M.

CHAIRMAN: Harold H. Gross, Freeman Junior College

Devotions

"Factors Explaining the Disintegration of Mennonite
Communities"

John Umble, Goshen College

Discussion

"A Set of Standards for a Christian Community"

Howard Kaufman, Goshen College

Discussion

Evening Session, 7:30 to 9:00 P. M.

CHAIRMAN: Milo Kaufman, Hesston College

Devotions

"Religious and Cultural Background of the Mennonite
Brethren"

John H. Lohrentz, Tabor College

"Missionary Interests Among the Mennonite Brethren"

G. W. Peters, Pacific Bible College, Fresno

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FOREWORD

The Seventh Annual Conference on Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems was held on the Tabor College Campus at Hillsboro, Kansas. No conference sessions were held in 1948, due to the Mennonite World Conference being held that summer. The addresses given at the World Conference are printed in a separate volume.

The Seventh Conference was characterized by a wide variety of subjects under consideration. The two educational sessions were devoted more strictly to administrative problems. The papers presented were of a high order and will serve as useful reference in future years. The four sessions devoted to cultural problems were exceedingly profitable in that they discussed aspects of current controversial and historical problems.

These printed proceedings are designed to share the substance of these conferences with the many scattered individuals who for one reason or another are unable to attend the conferences. It is hoped that the proceedings of this conference will be a worthy addition to the body of growing resources pertaining to the Mennonites and their culture, especially to students interested in study and further research. The previous volumes have been frequently consulted and increasing numbers of college and university libraries are subscribing for these printed proceedings. It is hoped that the articles herein printed will stimulate further thinking and additional research along the lines of Mennonite heritage and culture.

As a matter of policy this conference will henceforth meet every other year rather than annually as heretofore. May this avenue of discussion and service be a blessing to all who participate.

J. W. Fretz, Secretary

THE EFFECTIVE BOARD OF CONTROL

By

Arnold Funk

Several factors have contributed toward making a discussion of this sort increasingly important. The world is progressively becoming smaller. Communities and peoples have been compelled to rub shoulders economically and culturally. Vast strides have been made and will yet be made in realizing the command of God to "subdue the earth and have dominion over it." The institutions specifically designed to assist in all this and so influence the direction in which society shall go are our colleges and universities. In the words of R. M. Hughes in his **Manual for Trustees of Colleges and Universities**, "They are the chief centers for the discovery of truth, for the preservation of knowledge and for the advanced instruction of our youth."

Because of this strategic position of our institutions of secondary education in our civilization and in our churches, it is evident that the persons charged with their direction and control occupy positions of far reaching consequence. The emphasis they encourage, the policies they adopt and promote, the authority they exercise, goes far toward determining the direction we will go as churches. This is especially true of definitely church related schools.

For the sake of brevity, and I hope of clarity, I wish to present the discussion of my subject under the following headings: 1, The qualifications of members of the boards of control; 2, The organization of boards of control, and 3, The obligations and duties of boards of control.¹

The Qualifications of Members of Boards of Control

Realizing the important nature of the work that can be done by an effective board of control we wish to begin by a discussion on the qualifications of its members. And first, because we believe it is of first importance, they should be persons of ability, of evident and unquestioned Christian character and integrity. If it is true as Pres. Emeritus E. C. Elliott of Purdue University has said,

¹I wish to acknowledge that most of the information herein presented aside from that gained through experience as a member of the board of directors of Bethel College was obtained from **A Manual for Trustees of Colleges and Universities**, by R. M. Hughes, **The Administration of Higher Institutions under Changing Conditions** edited by Norman Burns, **A Study in Administrative Functions** by M. W. Hyde and Emil Leffler, and a brochure on the **Working Policy and Plan of Organization of Bethel College** by E. G. Kaufman.

they are "sentinels of common sense stationed to guard the gates of the places of uncommon sense," they must individually be persons who have that common sense. While it is not within the province of the board to administer the school, theirs is the task to lend personality and character to it. They should be persons of faith and prayer, uncontrolled by partisan groups or special interests, and with a vision for a redeemed and truly enlightened society.

They should be persons of evident interest in the problems and goals of higher education. That interest should go far enough for them to feel morally obligated to attend board and committee meetings, and to make them willing to spend time and energy for the school willingly and sacrificially.

It is but natural to expect that as our schools grow older, the percentage of college graduates on the board of control will increase. This is as it should be. But it is a question whether such a board should ever be limited to that if it is to remain truly representative of the constituency. Nor should such a board be preponderantly drawn from any one profession, rather they should be representative of the classes of people the institution is designed to serve. In this connection it may be stated that it is the policy at Bethel College that not more than one-third of the board shall be drawn from any one vocation.

Concerning age it may be said that it appears to be the opinion of the references consulted that, "too many boards contain too many men of too many years." R. M. Hughes is of the opinion that the most desirable age for the majority of a board of control is between 50 and 60 years, that no members should be beyond 70 years and a substantial number between 30 and 50 years. In other words, the members of the board should be "young enough to sense the needs of the people they represent and guide the changing institution to its largest service," rather than to maintain good policies of the past unchanged.

The Organization of the Board of Control

It has been estimated that there are some 17 to 20 thousand persons on the boards of control of our various colleges and universities. The size of these boards of control varies all the way from small boards of five to large ones of a hundred members. The small board can hardly be representative of the constituency of the college whereas the large board is likely to suffer in quality of membership and in maintenance of interest and sense of responsibility. For reasons such as these it is generally held that

a board of from 9 to 15 members is preferable.²

The manner in which they are selected varies. It may be either by appointment, or by elections by the members of a conference or a corporation, or a combination of these methods. In any event the members of the board of control should always remember that they are but the trustees by means of which the people seek to maintain their democratic control over institutions of learning.

The term of office also varies considerably. It may be for a period of three, five, seven, or nine years. E. C. Elliott advocates that the term of office should be equal in years to the size of the board so that each year only one person is elected or appointed. How common this is I do not know. At Bethel College the term is six years so that in any one year not more than three new members are elected. Because of the growing complexity of the problems faced by the board of control, it would seem advisable that a longer term of office is preferable to a shorter one.

In order to enable a board to function effectively it is usually organized having a president, a vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer, with each of these offices doing the work usually connected with these offices. There may be a number of committees which function, either in the absence of the whole board or in the performance of specifically assigned tasks. Usually these include an executive committee, a committee on teachers, a committee on finances, a committee on buildings and grounds and so on.

The meetings of the board are subject to the call of the president and should take place often enough to be able to transact all necessary business. However, it is well that a certain number of regular meetings be accepted as mandatory. When the board is large this number will hardly exceed two meetings a year, one shortly after the opening of school and another near the close of

²The Mennonite and affiliated colleges have the following sizes and tenure for their board of trustees:

College	Members	Years
Goshen	31	4
Hesston	31	4
Eastern Mennonite	16	4
Tabor	5	0
Bluffton	16	7
Freeman	9	3
Rosthern	12	3
Bethel	13	6
Messiah	13	3
Beulah	9	3
Mennonite Bible College	10	0

the school year. At Bethel College four meetings are so regarded, one during the first month of the school year, one during the last month of the school year, one shortly before the annual meeting of the Corporation meeting in October, and one soon after Christmas vacation.

Obligations and Duties of Boards of Control

Dr. E. C. Elliott of Purdue University lists the following obligations as ranking high with an effective board of control.

- "1. The duty of a thorough, broad understanding of the fundamental objectives of the institution by each member, and by the board as a whole.
2. A clear conception of the policy-making province of the board as distinguished from the task and details of administration to be delegated to others.
3. After consultation with representative members of the faculty, the selection of the president and, upon recommendation of the president, the designation of the other principal executive officers of the institution. In some of our institutions the committee on faculty or even the whole board approves the appointment of teachers upon recommendation of the President.
4. The sympathetic support and intelligent guidance of the president and executive officers in all institutional matters.
5. The devising of ways and means for raising adequate funds with which to provide and secure a well-balanced, continuous support for the educational and scientific program of the institution.
6. The approving of an annual budget—after careful and detailed study.
7. The preparation of a comprehensive plan for the future physical development of the institution.
8. The requirement of regular, concise, and intelligent financial and educational reports from offices and departments.
9. The understanding of the educational aims and goals of the institution as formulated by the faculty.
10. The formulation, in clear terms, of the fundamental duties of the faculty.
11. The creation of proper mechanisms, whereby the board may be brought into cooperative relations with the faculty, the organized student body, and the institution's clientele.
12. The service of individual members as agents for affective contact with the public."

A somewhat different list is suggested by R. M. Hughes in his **Manual for Trustees**. He lists the duties of boards of control under three general headings.

1. Things board members should not do. Here he mentions such matters as not forgetting that he is a trustee and not an executive. He should not try to run the school or seek favors for friends or groups.
2. Duties as a member of the board. Here he mentions the following:
 - a. To become familiar as soon as possible with the buildings, grounds and equipment; their condition of repair and general suitability to the uses they serve.
 - b. To become acquainted with the administrative officers and faculty of the institution in order to form an intelligent estimate of the quality of the personnel and their spirit.
 - c. To become acquainted at least superficially, with the printed matter issued by the institution.
 - d. To assure himself that all current income and expenditure is handled with absolute integrity and with skill and that all interests of the institution are conserved.
 - e. To assure himself that all endowment funds are safely and wisely handled and are fully protected in every possible way.
 - f. To assure himself that the budget is honestly and competently prepared.
 - g. To familiarize himself with the fixed policies of the institution; to be active in codifying and adding to these policies where changes are needed.
 - h. To assure himself that the president is following the general policies of the trustees in the direction of the school.
3. Services as an individual representing the institution to the public.
 - a. Direct qualified high school graduates to the school and discourage unqualified graduates from entering.
 - b. Keep in touch with student attitudes at the college through continued acquaintance with the students from his area.
 - c. Promote community service by the faculty.
 - d. Supply favorable publicity for the school in the local papers of his area.
 - e. Retain an interest in the products of the institution and be informed as to the competence as a result of college training.

Perhaps we would emphasize some of the points mentioned in these two lists more and others less. But they do present a picture of an almost overwhelming task. Except for the grace of God it would be impossible for anyone to even approximately carry out these duties. Organization may and does vary with each individual college. Duties may be variously assigned and policies may differ. All these have a bearing in the effectiveness of the work of a board of control. But more important than all these is, "the composite wisdom of action of men of personal character, of personal unselfishness, and of personal competency."

THE EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

By

Ernest Miller

Today formal education in the United States has become a business of first magnitude. We expended in our public schools in the year 1945-46 just under three billion dollars. In the last three years this sum has been very considerably increased. If one adds to this figure the amount spent on college and university education, the amount goes high into the billions. In recent years there has also been an upward trend in the enrollment of pupils. The United States Office of Education released estimates during August of last year that enrollments last fall would reach 22,797,000 for elementary schools, 6,270,000 for high schools, and 2,500,000 for colleges making a grand total of 31,567,000 persons, or one in five of our population now engaged in pursuing some general or specialized course of formal education. The Office of Education predicts that the enrollment will rise another seven million for an all time high by 1956.

Christian Education Defined

At such a period of educational expansion it behooves us, first, to see that our own educational institutions remain Christian in character and, second, that they are efficient. Unless our schools maintain a high standard in both of these areas they will not commend themselves either to our church laity or to our church leaders. Before proceeding to a discussion of the items which indicate effective organization and administration, may I, therefore, point up again the difference between a Christian school and one that does not aspire to be Christian.

To point up this difference I turn to the writings of Paul and take his statement addressed to Timothy. In this second letter, chapter two, verse fifteen he says, "Give diligence to present thyself approved unto God a workman that needeth not to be ashamed handling aright the word of truth."

In the first half of this epistle Paul dwells more especially upon the need of steadfastness in Christian service. In the second half, which begins with the fourteenth verse of this second chapter, his emphasis is more upon the need of sound doctrine. There is also a third theme manifest in the epistle. This deals with church organization and so in the opening of this chapter Paul urged Timothy to appoint well qualified and faithful men who may serve as the official teachers of the Gospel. Paul exhorts Timothy to put these officers in remembrance of the hardship involved

in ministerial service, but he also asks him to point out its rich and abiding reward. Further, Timothy is to charge these teachers that they should not strive about words to no profit. Here is an injunction full of meaning to Christian teachers of all ages. There are occasionally discussions even today which are nigh profitless.

Paul further urges Timothy to enforce his teachings by his own example. He urges him to eager effort that he may be approved of God as "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed," that is, as one whose work will stand the test of divine judgment and be approved even when inspected by his Lord. The particular work in which Timothy is engaged is described as "handling aright the word of truth." Handling aright is sometimes translated as rightly dividing and is supposed by some to refer to the act of a priest in dividing the flesh of a sacrifice or to the work of cutting straight paths or even to making a straight furrow. But whatever the original meaning of the term, when the word is connected with the word of truth it means the task of the teacher who with loyalty and devotion is setting forth the true Gospel of Christ. This, Paul points out, is the task of Timothy. This is also to be the supreme work of those officers whom he is to appoint to serve the Christian church. This exhortation by Paul to Timothy has been applicable through the years and still applies now. All the members of the administrative staff and the faculty of the schools in our Mennonite Church should be God-approved workmen. That is the standard from which we need to proceed.

The difference between a Christian college and one which does not aspire to be Christian is not primarily in subject matter or in the outline of the curriculum. The real difference is in purpose and atmosphere. The highest Christian education centers in man's growth in the knowledge and love of God. To this every creature of the life of an institution is to be directed—the curriculum, the buildings, the personnel efforts, the administration. A Christian college then seeks the attainment of this purpose, namely, growth in the knowledge and love of God, both by its formal program as well as through the atmosphere and temper of its entire campus.

But a church-supported school has a responsibility even beyond this. It is the responsibility of a child to a parent. Our schools are children of the Mennonite church. They are being reared with pain and sacrifice. In turn they are making a contribution to the church. They can and should continue to serve the church whose children they are. The church needs and has a right to expect the constructive confirmation of the training in faith and in practice of the tenets held as a part of the peculiar genius of the

church. There is a body of belief commonly held to be peculiar to an evangelical Christian faith and there are practices and doctrines agreed upon by the general conference of our Mennonite church as representing the historic faith of the church. The Church, therefore, has a right to expect that its schools will carry forward this training. It may be that aspects of this faith need more clarification a truer alignment and, if so, the college should help give that clarification to its students in such a way as to deepen and strengthen it, but not to disintegrate or destroy it.

This then is the standard we have set for ourselves and may now serve as an instrument against which the efficiency of organization and administration may be measured. Before actually coming to my topic, may I yet say a word about the timeliness of this discussion on "Problems of General Administration."

EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATIONAL PROCEDURE

Every college needs periodically to examine its administrative organization. As a matter of fact, all institutions do make organizational changes from time to time in response to various sorts of pressure from inside and outside the institution. But often such changes lag considerably behind other developments in the institutional program because administrative personnel tend to build up vested interests which militate against modification in procedure. These restraining influences against modification operate all along the line, from janitor to board of control, and include as well the office of the president. However, the pace of recent change in institutional size and consequent complexity has been so rapid that we have all been forced in these last few years to make certain adjustments. It is timely, therefore, to see how far our changes are good and what yet remains to be done. John Dale Russell, writing in *COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY BUSINESS*, points out "when an institution that is increasing in size fails to adjust its administrative organization appropriately, one of the first observable warning symptoms is an overly extensive span of control in the office of the chief executive. This is evidenced by the fact that at such a time too many institutional officials have to report directly to the president. The president becomes overloaded with details. So many minor items claim his attention that he fails to give consideration to major problems of institutional development."¹ This statement seems clear and pointed enough so that even we presidents can make the application.

Let us then proceed to examine our organizational set-up. Organization is only a means to an end. It is not an end in itself. It is only a tool to be used. The problem of organization is to facilitate the achievement of the purpose of an institution. This

definition of organization holds whether it relates to the administration of a school or a farm, or a church, or an industry. Although the scope of administration differs depending upon the thing to be administered. It is not the same to administer the construction of a building, or the operation of a farm, the handling of a poultry business, or the management of a publishing house or a college. The method is comparable but the items are different.

May I indicate now certain general procedures which I believe promote good human relations in any institution where its size warrants some type of organization.

- 1—John Dale Russell, "Your Organization Setup May Need Overhauling," COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY BUSINESS, February, 1949.

ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES

Keep Administrative Machinery Simple

Administrative machinery should be kept as simple as possible.

Administrative procedures should be so simple that no unnecessary road need be traveled in the performance of a particular act or duty. The eighth deadly sin, someone has said, is to waste someone's time on a busy college campus. I could give a good many illustrations as to how efficiency does not operate in our schools, particularly at Goshen. But perhaps it would be better to take my illustration from an adjacent field. The Sunday School class I teach decided some six weeks ago to give every other monthly missionary offering toward the support of Pyarelal Malagar, a Mennonite young man who has come to study at the College. The Sunday School class raised the money and we have been trying to get it where it belongs. Our class treasurer after taking the order from our class president gave the money to our Sunday School treasurer. The Sunday School treasurer in turn has given the money to the treasurer of the Church. The treasurer of the Church, I understand, is now in the process of transferring it to the treasurer of the State Mission Board, who lives in another part of the State. The treasurer of the State Mission Board will, after he gets due clearance, send the money to the treasurer of our General Board in Elkhart. The treasurer of the General Board will, according to plans, send the money back to the Business Office of the College. Pyarelal will then be told that the gift which was given to him some months ago has now made the circuit and is actually available for the payment of his bills. Unnecessary red tape is a deadly weapon killing the spirit of initiative and constructive thought.

Lines Should be Direct and Clear Cut

It is my experience that most folks can be counted on to do their duty if they know what that duty is. Hesitancy to execute or to cooperate arises when it is impossible to demonstrate clearly that one has or has not been able to carry through one's assignment. Administrative organizations may be classed in one of two types on the basis of the number of executive officers responsible directly to the board of control. In the unit type of control only one officer, normally the main officer, is responsible directly to the board and all other administrative officers are subordinate to him and are responsible to the board through him. A multiple type of control is when two or more officers are coordinate in authority and each is responsible direct to the board. The unit control very commonly results in friction and inefficiency in the administrative organization.

To keep administrative procedures clear cut it is necessary to have an accepted body of practice indicating the usual procedure in the administration of the various functions of an organization. This body of common practice is formulated in what we commonly call a constitution. I hasten to add that it should be remembered that a constitution is only a servant. The best constitution can only serve as a directive to point up what is commonly accepted as good practice. When it does not do that it quickly becomes obsolete and people having found a better road, one where the traveling is easier and quicker, make a highway out of the foot path. However, a good constitution can do very much to avoid misunderstandings in procedures.

A distinct help in the clarification and proper assignment of duties is the preparation of an administrative chart. On such a chart the various major areas of work to be done are put in picture or diagrammatic form. This helps not alone the administrator to see what the various aspects of the total task are and to make sure that no portion of that task is left without some provision for performance, but such a chart in the hands of a brother administrator also helps that person see the relation of his job to the total work and purpose of the organization. Such charts range all the way from very complex total patterns to very simple diagrams of the particular functions in some small areas of work in the institution.

I have recently examined in some detail an administrative chart prepared by the placement service of the University of Pennsylvania. This chart had plotted not only different things to be done by the entire placement bureau but it also indicated the title and the exact name of the persons who were to do the job. It was to be effective October 1.

Any such chart needs to be revised periodically and almost continuously. Since such a diagram is only a man-made tool, it serves in a good way only if it is revised regularly in the light of new experience or altered on account of the addition of new personnel. I have found it good practice to have administrative associates make rather detailed and complete charts of the various sub-areas of their total assignment indicating the specific persons who are responsible for carrying through on the projects. Such procedures promote good administrative relationships.

The necessity of a clear delineation of procedure is important not alone to good inter-faculty and inter-board relationship but also to good faculty-student understanding. It is annoying to a student not to know where to go to get permission for a particular thing such as a week-end leave, a change in courses, or how to make application for a scholarship. In our own personnel staff we hold that this delineation of responsibility should be so clearly set up and understood by ourselves and by our students that a student need not make more than a single contact to get the information he or she desires.

A good many student disciplinary problems rise out of the failure to have such clear cut procedures. A well-behaved student may become so frustrated by a haze of red tape that he throws up his hands and says, "in this institution it is every man on his own."

An Administrator Should Use Authority Sparingly

There are three ways to get things done. The first is by executive order. That means the chief executive sends out a memo saying this is the way the particular function is to be executed. This is not a good way. The second way to get something done is by majority vote. This is a much better way. It is the way we usually operate and we call for a show of hands because the time for action has come. Majority votes, however, always leaves the problem of minorities and so this, although a good way, is not the most desirable. The third way is the best way of all. This way is arriving at a decision and proceeding to action by common consent. That type of decision is reached slowly and because of that we do not always find it a good way to use. But when time permits it is the best because each one participating in the decision is convinced that the decision is right and feels responsible for the execution of the decision and for its consequences.

A good administrator does a good deal of thinking of the type the psychologist calls imagining. He projects the elements of a situation. He thinks ahead of his students and faculty and has a mental blueprint of the possible things that may be done together with their possible consequences. If more advanced counseling

could be given to new faculty members and freshman students there would be less pickup work to be done afterwards. A good administrator will challenge all persons who are a part of his organization with tasks equal to their ability and so direct their energy in constructive channels. This type of procedure is a good deal better than reviewing an episode or an undertaking after it is completed and, therefore, making it necessary to reverse or reprimand.

Inform Personnel Adequately

A big part of good administration is only to see that the persons expected to work together are constantly informed about each other's tasks and are given opportunity of getting and remaining acquainted. With our larger numbers it is more difficult than before to get and stay acquainted with each other. Indeed, group relation problems grow with the size and complexity of the college and its organization. I find that in a faculty of forty-five it is essential to meet periodically to share our interests, and discuss our failures and achievements. We need to plan together and even to get acquainted with each other's families. There are many agencies which can be utilized for this purpose. There is the regular weekly faculty meeting. I have found this meeting indispensable to the good cooperative undertaking of the task of education in an institution. There are other aids, which may be utilized to maintain an acquaintanceship and understanding of each other's duties. A student directory, a college paper, inter-office memo, exchange of copies of letters, and similar aids help the entire group to work together intelligently.

Following this recital of certain general characteristics of good organization, may I now venture into the quest of the ivory tower to find the office of the president. In a broad way the chief executive is responsible for three major phases of the life of a college: International Institutional Administration, Program Development and Promotion, and Educational Interpretation. These three phases of his duty he must relate to the board of control, the faculty, the student body, the alumni and the general public. Let us see then each of these major phases of his work in relation to the various groups he is required to serve.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The legal authority of the college is vested in its governing board. The primary functions of a governing board are to formulate and approve all college policy and to select a president to administer a school according to such approved principles. A president should, therefore, report to his board periodically. He must continuously seek its approval of his recommendations. He

should be the only member of the employed staff who is directly responsible to this governing board. And, since the board delegates its executive functions to him and holds him responsible for the total operation of the institution, it also necessarily delegates to him certain authority. There are two major methods of control open to the president to carry through this responsibility placed upon him by the board of control.

One is the budget. In the formation of the budget the president will seek all the help he can get from his staff. Requests in a small college should originate with the individual faculty or staff member, be reviewed by other appropriate administrative officers and should finally be submitted by the president to the board for approval. In its final form, however, the approval of the budget is the president's duty. He is in the best position to have an overall picture of the institutional needs. The soundness of a college is definitely related to the soundness of its financial health, and the president's efficiency is indispensably associated with the strength of his fiscal policy.

The president's second major means of internal control is the approval of recommendations for appointment. Here, too, he will want to work in close cooperation with his administrative associates and his board of control. But the responsibility of making recommendations is his assignment. The importance of maintaining a staff that is intelligently and earnestly Christian is easily apparent in a church school, and here the president has a very great responsibility to find, persuade, and inspire the right persons to join the faculty and help carry on the ideals and purposes of the institution.

The president also has opportunity to utilize many lesser agencies through which to promote the purpose and ideals of the institution. He should have a certain direct relationship to all standing committees of the faculty, and although he should not ordinarily be the Director of Student Personnel, he should maintain a counseling relationship which makes it possible for him to execute his responsibility for the students' welfare.

Program Development and Promotion

The responsibility of the president for the development of a sound academic and extra-academic program is second to none of his other duties. In the working out of the academic program he will work with his faculty. They will act here as a legislative body and he will be their liaison officer to the board for approval of major additions or changes in the academic program. He will encourage faculty committees to study continually ways to improve the academic program. These committees will take into account opinions of alumni, students, and the general sup-

porting constituency.

In like manner the president will concern himself with the general development program of his school—planning ahead in terms of necessary buildings such as dormitories, facilities for recreation, opportunities also for religious exercise and social service. There will be many persons to give him advice and suggestions, and he should be sensitive to the constructive thinking of all his associates. But he must keep in mind that in all these areas the responsibility for initiating the planning work of the institution is primarily his own.

Not only must the president plan his program, he must see to its promotion. Subtle promotion is the desired but elusive goal. How far is the president himself to serve as an agent of promotion? If he is too much in the foreground in the promotional program, he is accused of being commercial. If he is too silent, he does not remain the institution's chief executive officer. He should provide himself with ample and expert advice. Areas of the promotional program may be delegated, but delegation of the function is not feasible. He will need to appear at certain public functions; he will need to be active in sending greetings, in writing articles, in providing dinners and teas, and even in seeing that his wife gives appropriate gifts. His plans for the promotion of the institution through himself and his associates must be made clear to his board of directors and should have their approval.

Educational Interpretation

The third major phase of responsibility resting on the chief executive is educational interpretation. Here is a responsibility the president cannot side-step. The interpretation of the purpose, the program, and the problems of Christian education rests squarely on his shoulders. This responsibility, however, he tends to neglect because it is not so immediately pressing and because he is reluctant to talk shop. It is a good deal easier for him to speak on other aspects of our national or church problems and in yielding to this temptation fail to be a good interpreter of Christian higher education. Since many members of his board are lay people or people active in other affairs of life, he must seek constantly to interpret Christian higher education to the members of his board. He must also be active in speaking in behalf of such interpretation to alumni groups, and the general organizations of his supporting church. Time must be given even to interpreting education to the faculty. Faculty members are naturally subject-matter-minded and their interests become attached to research projects and departmental teaching schedules.

An informed faculty can become a mighty force in behalf of a good interpretation of Christian higher education to all the pub-

lic relation elements in the supporting constituency of the college. With the rapid growth of our institutions it sometimes becomes very difficult for our public to understand our revised methods of admission, our expansion of general education, and the necessity for giving the great number of types of specialized instruction. This needs especially to be interpreted to the public in terms of its necessary cost.

Having now pointed out these three major phases of the college president's function in the college, may I yet say a word about the administrator himself. First, a good administrator will support his associates and he will be careful to do so in time of special stress and trial. Although this should be done in connection with all matters, it is especially necessary on items of discipline or in the execution of some unpopular task. A very human tendency is to place a subordinate in a position where he or she needs to take the unhappy repercussions of an unfavorable incident. This is hardly good administration, and it is not the Christian attitude. To take a helping attitude toward one's brother also has its compensations. An associate helped, under such trying situations, responds with greater efficiency and well repays the administrator for the time and support given him.

Not only does a good administrator give help to his associate in time of special difficulty or in the execution of some unpleasant task, but he also is ready to give recognition to the help which comes to him from his associates. Particularly should an administrator be mindful to recognize the good ideas which come to him from his associates. N. E. Byers, who worked for many years at Goshen and later at Bluffton, used to say that the president of a college gets blamed for a lot of things he does not deserve, but, he said, it is equally true that he gets credit for a lot of things which he does not himself do.

Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, at one time wrote an article under the title, "The Administrator." The article was first published in the JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION in November, 1946. It has since been republished in pamphlet form. If you have not read that article you should take the time to do so. He has practical suggestions for people who do administrative work. Dr. Hutchins says, "The minimum qualifications of an administrator are four: they are courage, fortitude, justice and practical wisdom. When I say that the administrator should have courage, fortitude, justice and prudence, I am only saying that he should be a good man. The minimum function of the administrator is to decide and since he has to make more decisions than most men, he has the chance to be either an especially good or an especially bad man. It is doubtful, says

Dr. Hutchins, whether these virtues can be exercised without divine aid. The strain on the character is very great. The administrator who is afraid of anybody or anything is lost. The administrator who cannot stand criticism including slander and libel is lost. The administrator has many ways to lose and hardly any way to win, for almost every decision an administrator makes is a decision against somebody. This is true even of decisions that look as though they were for somebody, like a decision to raise a man's salary. The administrator quickly learns that such a decision is really a decision not to raise the salary of some other men."

Dr. Hutchins concludes his discussion by saying that "the only way an administrator may know whether his decisions are right or wrong is that he must make these decisions on the basis of whether they help or hinder the institution in its efforts to achieve the ends." In other words, he points out that the chief function of an administrator of a school is to have clear in his own mind the purposes of his institution and to move in all his administrative matters in line with that purpose. "He must conceive of himself as presiding over a continuous discussion of the aim and destiny of his institution." This brings us back, my friends, to the point from which we started, namely, that the most important part of good administration is to have set before us a clear goal and to comprehend something of what it takes to move ourselves and our associates in the direction of that goal.

I read sometime ago in the summer bulletin, COLLEGE AND CHURCH, an article by Kenneth Scott Latourette on "The Christian College and University: Why and What It Is." In that article I found this striking paragraph. It came to me as a personal challenge. It was very humbling and led to a good deal of meditation and retrospection. "In many a college and university the key to the situation is the chief administrator. If the president is warmly and intelligently Christian and resolute in his purpose of maintaining or strengthening the Christian character of the institution, and if at the same time he is an able and trusted administrator, progress toward the goal is fairly well assured. On the other hand, if he is lukewarm, or if he puts endowments, buildings, and academic prestige above the Christian character of the institution, or if, while earnestly Christian himself, he is lacking in wisdom and does not have the confidence of his student body and faculty, ground is fairly certain to be lost."

There are two main tasks before the Christian Church. The one consists in calling out from the world and maintaining a body of believers who will live together in a Christ-like way. The other

task consists in commitment to the service and salvation of the unsaved world on the part of those so called out and maintained. It is the duty of our schools as institutions of the church to help carry out that program. To the extent to which we succeed in doing this we may be considered worthy. "Give diligence to present thyself approved unto God a workman that needeth not to be ashamed handling aright the word of truth." (II Timothy 2:15)

THE OFFICE OF THE BUSINESS MANAGER

By

Harry E. Martens

The history of the college or university goes back at least as far as the Athenian Age. This is not so of the college or university administration. Before administration can begin, it is necessary to have organization, which cannot even be said of the early Greek and Roman universities.

In the early days, an individual teacher attracted his own students, frequently taught and housed them in his own home. The problems of administration, curriculum and finances were all his own. On the other hand, it was also found that students banded together, rented a building and hired their own instructors. In this case, the students had all the matters regarding administration and finances in their own hands.

It was not until the 12th and 13th centuries when the problems of administration became apparent. It was the time when thousands of students became interested in higher education instead of the select few. In this period, the faculty and the students together selected individuals to become members of a central body, which controlled the institution. This body found it necessary to have a coordinator, spokesman or some chief officer. In this medieval age then, we find the chancellor, rector, prior and some lesser officers appearing on the scene of higher education. Among the lesser officers, just referred to, for the first time in the history of higher education, was the treasurer, receptor or steward, the title given to now more commonly known as the comptroller or business manager. The function of the treasurer, receptor or steward was chiefly to keep fiscal accounts and other matters of a clerical nature.

In 1336, the first American university was founded by the Colony of Massachusetts Bay at Cambridge. Six years later a board of overseers of Harvard College was created, while two years later a corporation of the same college was organized. Lindsay and Holland in the book, **College and University Administration** tell us: "The creation of the corporation placed the active direction of administrative tasks of the institution in the hands of a president, five fellows, and a treasurer. The creation of the Board of Overseers placed all responsibility for the conduct of the institution on a body of laymen selected by or responsible to neither faculty nor students." This, then, became the pattern for administration for the modern American college and university. The

president, himself, was the embodiment of the whole college, the keeping of books was detailed by him to a clerical assistant in his office.

We find that prior to 1875 there really were only four bodies that made up the American college, namely, the board of trustees, the president, the faculty and the students. As colleges grew in wealth, size and complexity, further administrative officers were added, namely, the dean, registrar, and a business officer.

The Business Office

The financial officer then came into being as the need arose for bookkeeping and someone to serve as custodian of funds. As time went on, the duties of the college president became more and more complex and thus he delegated more and more to this office. Out of this developed the office of the business manager. The office of the business manager then, developed so as to relieve the president of routine financial matters. The president is usually held responsible for the financial conditions of the institution and for that reason the matter of business management has a great deal of his concern.

So the business office as an independent administrative unit is a comparatively recent development. For years, business affairs have been distributed between the governing board and the academic and executive branches of the institution. The department heads or various administrative officers usually had their own account and did their own buying. In a few instances that may still be the case, but in recent years business administration has become a separate and distinct function.

In the educational program of the college, the president has the assistance of the dean and, in the financial program, he has the service of the business manager.

The financial officer in colleges and universities is known by various titles. The confusion is chiefly due to the attempt to coin names that will fit a small institution where the office is a combination of several offices. As recent as 1932, Irwin J. Lubbers, Assistant Professor of Education of Carrall College of Waukesha, Wisconsin found in a survey of twenty colleges that thirteen titles were used. Among the titles used were: treasurer, financial secretary, cashier, business manager, treasurer-business manager, assistant treasurer, bookkeeper, auditor, secretary-business manager, chief accountant, treasurer-president, assistant treasurer-business manager and bursar.

Even to this day there is considerable confusion in the titles for this office. On the other hand, however, it seems that the title may be more confusing than the duties assigned to this office. Naturally, the president is the chief executive officer who is re-

sponsible that all duties in all areas are properly carried out. Not all presidents delegate the same duties. This frequently depends on his own interests and abilities, but above all it depends on the kind of personnel he has available to help carry out the various duties. It may well be that the one financial officer would have special ability in office management and accounting whereas the other financial officer would have greater ability along the line of overall management of various construction, maintenance, and procurement activities. In a small college it is financially impossible and impractical to hire a specialist for each field.

For the purpose of our discussion from this point, we should like to use the title business manager whenever reference is made to the chief financial officer. It is not only for the purpose of our discussion, but it seems that that is the most practical and a properly descriptive title for this office in a small church-related college.

The Business Manager

Nearly all the reference material that was reviewed in connection with the preparation of this paper, emphasized that all the work involving finances be centralized and headed up by a chief financial officer or business manager. This is not the case in all colleges at the present time. It is clear, however, that for good business practices that is preferable, except in special or unique situations.

In some colleges the business manager is directly responsible to the board of trustees which presents a form of "dual control." It is certainly most common and preferable that the business manager be directly responsible to the president of the institution. The business manager should be kept fully informed of the trustees desires and decisions regarding finances, and he should be present at certain board of trustees meetings when matters involving finances are being discussed.

A few words may be in order regarding the selection and qualifications of the business manager. Naturally, his selection would be subject to the approval of the board of trustees, but the president should have a rather free hand to make the selection. He probably will be working closer with this man than any other faculty or staff member. It is important that the proper relationship exists between the president, board of trustees, and the business manager in as much that far reaching policies of the institution need to be carried out jointly.

The business manager, himself, first of all, must understand the practices and procedures of business. He must have given evidence of possessing qualities necessary for management. He needs to be more than a man well versed in business techniques.

He needs to be a man well grounded in educational processes so as to have an appreciation as well as an understanding of the educational program of the institution. He has, therefore, a peculiar responsibility in that he is a financial officer and also an educator.

Then too, he is constantly dealing with people or the public, as well as things material, so there must be ability to deal successfully with people. His duties frequently bring to a test his ability to deal with problems in student or faculty relationships or even problems in community relations. In his business dealing, he must always have what Dr. Esther Lloyd-Jones of Columbia University calls "a personnel point of view." With his duties as a business officer, also come duties of a personnel officer.

Of course, he must be a man of integrity, special courage, humility, and Christian in character. He must have the ability to be direct and yet not appear to be dictatorial. He must have the courage to say "no" and be able to say frankly when he made a mistake.

Robert Hutchins recently made reference to qualifications of administrators saying that he did not include the "theological virtues" of "faith, hope and charity," because they come only through divine grace, but went on to admit that the administrator needs them more than most men.

Probably one of the weaker points of the present business manager is that of his preparation or specific training for the position he holds. At a recent meeting of a regional association of college and university business officers the question was asked, "How many of you are specifically trained for your present job?" Only two out of the seventy-five business officers in attendance considered themselves specifically trained for the position they were holding. No doubt, the duties of this office are so diversified, that a strong cultural background may be of first importance, but more opportunities for specific training should be provided. With the coming of a national organization of college and university business officers, the areas for specific preparation and training will develop.

Objectives of The Business Manager

Permit me now to present certain basic objectives that are necessary for the business manager. He, with all administrative officers needs to work, and have for his purpose to provide conditions most conducive to effective work of the faculty members. Also, another main objective is to help establish conditions and facilities on the campus that will make for the greatest development of abilities and capacities of the individual students. He needs to keep in mind that his office is a part of a whole, a part

of a larger purpose which is the chartered purpose of the institution. It is well to remember that the only justification for the use of money and property in a college is to produce a maximum educational result. Since the purpose of a college is essentially educational, the objectives of the business manager should help to promote these educational objectives.

With those objectives before us, may we now review briefly the functions of the office of the business manager. What is to be the area of responsibility and authority of the business manager?

R. Freeman Butts in his book, **The College Charts Its Course**, warns his readers that he has a point of view. He goes on to say that every writer has a point of view, no matter how much he may profess that he is being "purely objective" or that "he is getting only facts." So it may be well to warn you of what may follow.

No doubt there are differences of opinion as to what the area of administrative responsibility for the business manager should be. One must also realize that no one set pattern is practical in every institution. It is definitely dependent upon the type of personnel available. It is dependent upon the nature of the program of the institution as well as its policy of handling and supervising the construction and maintenance program and other activities. Then too, as stated heretofore it varies from one institution to the next depending on what has been delegated by the president and the board of trustees.

Literature on duties and responsibilities of the college business manager is limited, especially is this true in regard to the small church-related college. Materials published regarding the function and work of the college business manager is scattered through various magazines, reports of various associations, and some pamphlets. It appears evident that there is a real and increasing need for subject matter and further study of the field of college business management as such. A body of scientific literature dealing with management problems of our American colleges should prove to be very helpful.

Nevertheless, we herewith, submit a brief outline of what we think should be within the area of responsibility of the office of the business manager. They could also be listed as functions of the business office. Naturally, time will not permit for us to go into detail discussing procedures and preferred practices in connection with the listing of the various functions. We shall limit ourselves to the listing of the major areas of responsibility of the business manager and an outline of major duties in each area as well as a few special or important concerns for these areas of responsibility.

We have chosen to discuss these areas of responsibility under the following headings: accounting, budget, endowment funds, financing, purchasing, supervision of new construction, operation and maintenance of physical plant, auxiliary enterprises, student employment, employment of staff members and management.

Accounting—The accounting division of the business office, in any college, should be headed by an expert accountant. The accountant should have college training and should be familiar with the practices and problems of the institution. He should be responsible for:

- (1) - The administrative directing of all accounting procedures and accounting records for all income and disbursements..
- (2) - The preparation and interpretation of a monthly or a quarterly financial report as well as an annual financial report.
- (3) - The budget, its control and operation.
- (4) - The safe keeping of records, contracts, agreements, leases, etc.
- (5) - Keeping control of all inventories.
- (6) - The preparation and payment of all checks and other negotiable instruments.
- (7) - The collection of all income of the institution.
- (8) - Supervising finances of student organizations, student loan funds, and income from various student activities.
- (9) - The preparation of cost analysis as requested by the president or the business manager.
- (10) - Supervision of all matters pertaining to insurance and taxation.

Budget—It is assumed that the institution will operate on a budget basis. No college can afford the risk of operating without a carefully prepared and faithfully adhered to budget. Today, as we are moving into a period of economic uncertainty, the preparation and control of a well-planned budget becomes most urgent and important.

The budget is a prepared statement showing the proposed income and expenditures. The budget, as formulated, should be complete, covering all areas of the institution and must be clear and in sufficient detail to permit adequate financial control. The budget shows in detail specific amounts, sources and purposes of the expenditures. The function of the budget, first of all, is to determine future expenditures and anticipated income and, secondly, it is to provide a method of checking on the expenditures.

The preparation of the annual budget is the responsibility of the business manager with the help of the chief accountant. It is logical that each of the individual department heads with the help of their co-workers in the department prepare and submit a proposed budget for their department. These departmental requests are reviewed, revised and organized by the business manager and his committee and submitted to the president, for his review and suggestions. After it has been put in its final form, it is submitted to the board of trustees for review and adoption.

Endowment Funds—The North Central Association of Colleges places the final authority for the determination of all policies relating to investments with the board of trustees as a whole. They must also assume the entire responsibility for the policies connected with the management of invested funds. After these policies of the investment program have been clearly outlined, the management and administration of the program is the responsibility of the chief business officer. He will have custody of the funds and securities as well as being responsible for the proper management of endowment property.

It is important that terms of each endowment gift are strictly adhered to. It may be that even in a small college, the size of the endowment fund and the amount of endowment property would warrant the employment of a special investment officer.

Financing—The sources of income of a small church-related college usually are from (1) investments of endowment funds, (2) tuition and fees, (3) auxiliary enterprises and (4) gifts. The receiving, safe keeping and accounting of funds coming from any one of these sources is the responsibility of the business office staff.

In a church-related college, the field work or actual solicitation of funds frequently becomes the task of an especially appointed field or public relations officer. The business office, however, must remain in close contact with this field of endeavor at all times.

Purchasing—There seems to be some difference of opinion about the advisability of having a central purchasing officer. Centralized purchasing in somewhat of a modified form appears to be most desirable. It makes possible, by some system of requisitions to have efficient budget control as well as inventory control by fixing the responsibility of purchasing upon a single officer. With a centralized purchasing system, it certainly means for more economical buying by purchasing in larger quantities as well as avoiding considerable duplication of effort.

Above, we made reference to a modified system of centralized purchasing and the word "modified" was used advisably because

there seems to be a lack of understanding on the part of educational institutions as to the exact meaning of centralized purchasing. It must never be interpreted to mean that the purchasing agent is doing his buying completely independent of the desires of departmental heads or supervisors.

On the contrary, the purchase usually originates with the department head by means of a requisition. Moreover, a good purchasing agent will admit that he is not an expert in all fields and thus, will freely seek the help and advice of his co-workers, especially so in connection with buying laboratory supplies and technical equipment. The procedures of a centralized buying system should be flexible enough to make possible various adjustments that may be necessary, depending on local situations. This system should not prohibit the delegating of some direct buying to the department head or other person. The routine procedures should be followed, however, and the chief business officer needs to be kept fully informed. He needs to encourage a cost analysis periodically.

In this connection, it may just be referred to, that a central storeroom is advisable so that physical plant supplies, laboratory supplies, office supplies, etc. may be kept, and where a system of a perpetual inventory will offer the needed control of these supplies on the part of the business office.

Supervision of New Construction—It is part of the business manager's duty to work with the president and the board of trustees to prepare a long range campus and plant development program. A good campus plan is essential for intelligent development. With the professional services of architects and engineers and suggestions from faculty members and administrative officers, plans for individual building should be prepared as needed. The president of the institution should present the plans to the board of trustees for review and approval. After the plans have had their final approval, construction may begin as funds and materials become available. The erection of the building is primarily a business enterprise and largely falls within the field of the business office. The amount of supervision required is largely dependent upon whether the contract is let to a general contractor or bids for various phases of the work are being received by the business manager, himself. If the latter is the case, it may be necessary to add a construction superintendent to the staff, for the period of construction.

Many church-related colleges experience difficulty in securing sufficient funds for new construction, so that work may proceed as rapidly as is desirable. They have experienced that the cost of the building can be reduced considerably by doing their own

purchasing of materials and also employing and directing the construction crews on their own.

Operation and Maintenance of the Physical Plant—The physical plant consists of the land used for the campus with all its improvements such as roads, sidewalks, supply stores, faculty homes, residence halls educational buildings, together with their furniture, equipment, books, machinery and tools.

It is the business manager's duty to make certain that the plant and equipment are economically operated, properly protected and adequately maintained. For good operation and maintenance of the physical plant, there should be a nucleus of at least four full-time employees.

There is need for a chief engineer who is in charge of heating facilities, electrical appliances, college vehicles, and maintenance of all wiring and plumbing. It should also be his responsibility to set up proper fire prevention facilities. The necessary carpenter work in most colleges justifies the employment of a supervising carpenter who supervises all new construction and is in charge of all building maintenance. With the thought of a college usually goes the thought of a beautiful campus and thus a grounds superintendent in charge of all grounds, trees, and road maintenance, as well as improvements of grounds is generally desirable. Many colleges have discovered that for consistently good janitorial service they cannot depend on student help only, so it is recommended that colleges have the services of at least one full-time janitor who directs all janitorial services of all educational buildings. The four staff positions just mentioned certainly are a minimum for most colleges and others will need to be added depending on the size of the institution and the nature of its program.

We all realize that the college is frequently judged by the appearance of its physical plant. We must remember that the student spends much more of his time in contact with some part of the physical plant than he does under the words of his instructors. The condition of the physical plant, no doubt, adds or subtracts to a proper educational experience.

Auxiliary Enterprises—Auxiliary enterprises are usually those functions of the college that are set up to help implement and facilitate the total educational program, to aid the college materially, and to provide employment for the needy student. They frequently include the college bookstore, student union, laundry, print shop, cafeteria, college farm, and others. The business manager serves as general manager of the various industries and its business activities. He, with the respective supervisors, helps to work out policies with relation to labor, production and

sales and acts in an advisory capacity for the program as a whole. The business manager is responsible for the setting up and development of new business activities as the need arises and as advised by the president of the institution.

Student Employment—With the trend, that higher education is not only for the select few, more and more students with the ability and the capacity to do college work, but with financial handicaps, have sought admission. Most American institutions of higher learning have recognized a responsibility for making some provision where students may find part time employment. If the institution admits students, who desire and need to work for part or all of their expenses, the obligation for assisting such students and to find employment is taken for granted.

If a student employment program is set up within the institution, it should tie into the educational, financial, construction, or maintenance program of the institution wherever possible. The program should be of material and educational value to the institution, as well as that of the student. The work program becomes a part of the total educational experience of the student. Habits of punctuality, integrity, industriousness, cleanliness, etc. certainly are influenced by the student's work experience in college. Policies regulating its development, functioning and administration usually are the responsibility of the business office.

Employment of Staff Members—The president of the institution usually depends on recommendations from the business manager for qualified staff members and supervisory personnel. The number and type of personnel needed by the colleges is so varied that it doesn't seem practical to list the various staff positions. It depends so much on the extent of the total college program, extent of records desired, size of the physical plant, its policies regarding maintenance, construction, auxiliaries, and the use of student help.

The internal administration and management of the college centers in the office of the president of the college. However, under the plan of the establishment of the business office as an individual unit and the centralizing of the business activities in a central officer, the president will delegate, in various degrees, the authority in business affairs to the business manager, whose responsibility it becomes to conduct and to manage the business arrangements of the college. His management is chiefly to facilitate the educational program by caring for various administrative details so as to permit faculty members to devote their time to instructional activities and the president to work in public relations and overall administration. By his management, there must be effective conservation of institutional resources so that the

larger portion of the funds available will be for the promotion and furtherance of the educational services of the institution.

The business manager has concerns and spheres of influence beyond requisition forms, budgets and physical plant. He is not just an office fixture, as someone has pointed out, but he is to be a living part of the institution. He too, has a hand in formulating and developing the common aims of American education as well as the particular aims and goals of his particular institution.

The business manager dare not permit himself to be wrapped up in all kinds of administrative detail and red tape. To delegate responsibility so as to eliminate endless red tape, at the same time retain sufficient control and keep policy contacts is a test in real management.

The main job of the business manager is what the title implies—business management.

There can be no question as to the importance or desirability of efficient business administration in all of our colleges. Whether it be large or small, the difference should be one of quantity not quality.

Harry L. Wells, Vice-president and Business Manager of the Northwestern University in an article in **College and University Business** on "Good Management" uses this descriptive illustration:

"The purpose of the cargo or the ultimate goal of the educational ship is not the responsibility of the crew whose job it is successfully to guide its financial course. The purpose of the university, the goal of its program and the discipline of its passengers are in other hands. The ship is the concern of business management and if the many factors which constitute the vessel are not carefully correlated and checked, the boat will be rocked and it might even be sunk."

One is lead to say if the business manager accepts the area of responsibility or the scope of this office as just described, and takes it seriously, he will need the help and guidance of the Divine.

The business manager's job has its long hours and even hazards, but there are compensations. There is satisfaction in helping to transmit capitol, money, or wealth into character. Money does not constitute the college, but no college can be constituted without it. As someone has said, "wealth may be transmitted into truth, into righteousness, into beauty, into joy, into human character."

As referred to earlier, there is special satisfaction in having work that unites the administrative and the financial with the scholastic; the practical with the theoretical.

And lastly, to observe youth, to see them grow, and develop, is compensation indeed.

THE OFFICE OF THE ACADEMIC DEAN

By Chester K. Lehman

I feel unqualified to discuss this subject by reason of the fact that during the past year I have undergone an amputation in which the duties of registrar were severed from those of the dean. Meanwhile I have not yet found my way as dean. This brief study has, however, assisted me to think through the subject as it concerns the role of dean in a small denominational college. I wish to express keenest appreciation to the responses received from deans of Mennonite colleges to an outline of duties as it obtains in these institutions.

A few general observations may be profitably made at the outstart. First, the division of responsibilities among college administrative positions is somewhat arbitrarily made. The allocation of duties, as Dean Schultz puts it, is made more according to the abilities and interests of personnel than technically to follow a set pattern of office duties. Second, the pattern of college administration is undergoing an evolution, particularly in the emergence of a personnel official, known as dean of students or personnel director. The cause for this is found in the overload of the dean who, busied with first duties of curriculum and instruction, has not found time to counsel students. No one in the college is charged with student interests as his first concern. Admittedly, this must be a first responsibility of some one in the college.

Origin of the Office of the Dean

A brief historical sketch of the office of the dean may get us off to a good start. Dean comes from the Latin word *decanus* which is in turn derived from the Greek *deka*, ten. The word was originally borrowed from the old Roman military system and was used as an ecclesiastical title in the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. In the monasteries a dean was chosen for every ten monks and had charge of their discipline. The senior dean in the absence of the abbot and provost governed the monastery. Since monks usually were in charge of a cathedral, deans were found there also. Custom determined that there should be only one dean to a cathedral. The dean gradually assumed chief charge of its ecclesiastical and ritual concerns and became general assistant to the bishop.

In universities the dean was originally the head of a faculty. Most historical writers consider a dean as essential to the existence of a faculty. The office of dean of a college is an adaptation of the dean of a monastery. In American education the dean is a university or college administrative officer, under the president, supervising a school, a faculty, a class or a sex of students.

In general the dean is the administrator of the educational program of the college, in the words of Dean Kreider, "the chief academic officer." Whatever pertains to the personnel of instruction, the faculty; the content of instruction, the curriculum; and the subjects of instruction, the student, properly belong to the office of the dean. This excludes matters of record keeping and admissions, which are distinctly registrar duties; of finance, which belongs to a business officer; and the area of religious concern, which heads up in a spiritual adviser or college pastor. was originally borrowed from the existence of a faculty. The office of dean of a college is an adaptation of the dean of a monastery. In American education the dean is a university or college administrative officer, under the president, supervising a school, a faculty, a class or a sex of students.

Lines of Responsibility

The dean is naturally made responsible to the executive head, the president. Generally, the registrar, division chairmen, department heads, and faculty members are responsible to the dean. The unseparable relation of registrar functions to the whole program of instruction would argue for the direct line of responsibility of the registrar to the dean.

Less general is the subsuming of the personnel functions under that of the dean. As an expression of independent function the title dean of students gives evidence. According to this concept the area of concern for the student as a person is held to be sufficiently distinctive to separate it more or less entirely from the work of the dean by drawing the line of responsibility directly to the president. This, in the writer's judgment, leads to a divorcing of functions always held to be basically one, namely the concerns entering in instruction and those centering in the student to be taught. Drawing the line of authority from the personnel officer to the dean maintains this fundamental unity. Naturally, the dean represents the college in academic relations with other colleges, state departments of education, and accrediting agencies.

Duties Shared with the President

The dean should serve as "chief adviser of the president in matters of college policy, particularly in academic affairs."¹ He carries "out the educational policies determined by the board and the faculty under the president, who is the chief executive officer of the board."² It is his task "to formulate educational

1. Quoted by President Agnew from Earle E. Emme, "What Deans and College Presidents Might Do," *Journal of Higher Education*, May, 1946, p. 265, a report on a seminar to study the functions of administrators and academic deans in particular.

2 Ibid.

policies and to present them to the president and faculty for consideration."³ Still further he "transmits to the president the budget recommendations for academic activities, after details have been worked out with department heads."⁴

The dean shares with the president responsibility for the choice of new faculty members, for major changes in curriculum and course offerings, and for approval of texts. He presides at faculty meetings in the absence of the president. In matters of purely academic or professional concern, however, the dean rightfully presides.

Duties in Relation to the Faculty

In relation to the faculty the responsibility of the dean is largely twofold: supervision of instruction or in-service training and guidance in research. As to the former, question may be raised, to what extent should the dean visit college classes? I find that accrediting associations look upon this as a duty of the dean, particularly in relation to younger and inexperienced teachers. In our democratic way of doing things there should be no embarrassment for a teacher to receive guidance which is designed to lead to higher proficiency in the art of instruction.

As to the latter the dean should lead the faculty in their professional growth. He should "direct attention of faculty members to changing educational thought and practice affecting higher education."⁵

Duties in Relation to the Student

Generally accepted tasks in this area include the following:

1. Student counseling in the choice of curriculum, in the fulfillment of course of study requirements, in programs of study, and in changes in registration. As college enrollment increases, this function becomes too great for the dean to perform himself. A good trend for the small college lies in the appointment by the dean of faculty counselors to entering freshmen whose task is to perform in a much more intimate manner the work of education guidance. In the third year these students would come under the guidance of their major professor. In this distribution of responsibility the dean becomes the adviser to the counselors and department heads. This relieves him of a great deal of routine work, lays upon the faculty a function from which they should never be relieved, and provides a more adequate counseling service to the student. Difficult problems come to the dean through these faculty members or the student. Final decision in all these matters lies with the dean.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

2. Passing on the eligibility of students for the honor roll, dean's list, and for student activities involving scholastic requirements.

3. Evaluation of credits for advanced standing.

Less generally accepted is the linking of student discipline with the dean's office. It is the writer's opinion that discipline should ultimately center in the same office as the personnel function. While it may not be best for one person to be charged with both responsibilities, the two tasks are more properly correlated and integrated when they come under the general direction of one office.

Opinions vary on the allocation of the testing program. The whole matter of tests and measurements requires the supervision of a trained expert. In this case as in the preceding it would seem that while the dean should not be burdened with the direct responsibility for this task, it should be closely tied in with his office since it bears so directly upon the whole matter of guidance and of adjusting instruction to student needs and capability.

Duties in Relation to Curriculums and Courses of Study

It is in this area that the dean performs perhaps his most significant service. He is the torch bearer of the college educational philosophy. He must sense what curriculums a college should offer, what courses best satisfy curriculum needs, and what the content of each course should be.

In a Christian college this function obtains highest significance. Specifically a Christian college needs to discover and promulgate a truly Christian concept of education. Christian education is not so old that we may complacently hold that the last word has been said in this area. And certainly the application of the principle of Christian education must keep up to the needs of this rapidly changing world.

General Administrative Duties

Here would fall responsibility for determination of courses to be conducted, teacher assignments, sectioning of classes, assignment of classrooms, making of schedule, and administration of attendance standards. Some would place here responsibility for the preparation of the catalogue, commencement exercises, the library, and extracurricular activities.

THE OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF WOMEN

By Viola Good

Historical Background for Personnel Work

Dr. Esther Lloyd Jones, in reviewing the history of the personnel profession at a recent conference, proposed that personnel work began to take on definite professional characteristics about 1913, at which time Teachers College, Columbia University, set up a program of special training exclusively on the graduate level, designed to train "deans and advisors of women." Several studies have traced personnel work in colleges of this country back almost to the middle 1800's, when deans of women were appointed to perform for women students many of the functions now consistently included in every definition of personnel work.¹

Many deans of women were appointed between 1900-1910. It was in that decade that it became "good form" among the colleges to appoint a dean of women. It was, in all probability, the University of Chicago which made it fashionable, though her dean was not the first. One well known dean says she was an undergraduate at the University of Michigan when the Chicago appointment was made. She comments thus, "When we heard of the appointment of the dean of women, discussion waxed warmly indignant. We resented that Chicago dean of women as an unwarranted criticism of the conduct of college women in general. In our self-sufficiency we could conceive of only one possible function for a dean of women, a disciplinary function; and we were very certain we needed no disciplining." It did not take long for Miss Talbot, with her broad vision and spirit of generous helpfulness toward both colleagues and students, to dispel all such feeling. Even that conception of the office, however, sophomoric as it was, was less inadequate than that of the lady who remarked upon hearing of the appointment of an acquaintance to a deanship of women, "But she is the last person I should have thought of for an ornamental position like that."²

The program designed for the training of deans of women at Teacher's College in 1913 included the following courses: The Hygiene of Childhood and Adolescence, Biology as Related to Education including Sex Education, Educational Psychology, History of the Family, Sociology, Educational Sociology, Philosophy of Education, Management of the Corporate Life of the

1. Lloyd-Jones, Esther M. "Beginnings of our Professions," *Trends in Student Personnel Work*, University of Minnesota Press, 1949.
2. Potter, Mary Ross, *Report of Committee on History of the National Association of Deans of Women*, 1926.

School, Administration, Psychology of Religion, Practicum (Concrete Problems confronting the Dean of Women).

The first Master of Arts degree and Diploma for a Dean of Women was granted at Teacher's College in 1914.

The course outlined above brought together as personnel work itself brings together special disciplines and sciences focused on a "sphere of everyday life." The department known as that of "Deans and Advisors of Women and Girls" at Columbia was changed to "Student Personnel Administration" in 1928. Men had been admitted to the course prior to 1928 and were permitted to build programs for the M. A. degree practically identical with those offered women. Since 1928 the proportion of men and women has been brought more and more into balance. Following the appointment of deans of men about 1900 the dean of men and dean of women for the most part, worked together as coordinates, both being directly responsible to the head of the institution. The division of responsibility was largely along sex lines. Until the early 1920's personnel work on the campuses of our colleges and universities was the responsibility of a dean of women and a dean of men. This bifurcation principle seemed to work out fairly satisfactorily in the first two decades of the century. In the second decade the "measurement movement" got under way; World War I greatly stimulated the development of tests; the vocational guidance movement came into prominence as did social work and numerous other agency services. As a result, by the 1920's and 30's the colleges were overrun with specialists, each promoting his own particular interest.³

The Need for Coordination of Personnel Services

From the late 20's to the late 30's we had a laissez-faire period in the development and administration of personnel services. Naturally, chaos was threatening in those institutions where the numerous specialists were functioning without coordination. College presidents, in desperation, appointed in many large institutions, one person to bring some order out of the chaos that had developed.

W. H. Cowley from Ohio State University is on record as recognizing the great need for coordination of personnel services for the following four reasons:

- There is a lack of pulling together among personnel workers.
- Personnel workers do not present a united front to administration or colleagues.

3. Lloyd-Jones, Esther M. "Beginnings of our Professions," *Trends in Student Personnel Work*, University of Minnesota Press, 1949.

Without coordination we do not see the whole personnel picture.

—We are behind the procession in administrative techniques.

According to Cowley, this coordination of personnel services within the institution could be achieved either through a committee or through a chief personnel officer. He felt that leadership must be established if good coordination is to be achieved. He favored unification through a chief officer.⁴

Harry A. Becker, Dean of Administration, University of Bridgeport, lists the following points of friction which frequently arise out of a decentralized program of administration:

1. Counselors may blame admissions office for admitting "unqualified" students.
2. Records Office may restrict the use of the records by other departments.
3. Records Office may refuse to maintain records desired by other departments.
4. The testing service may be reluctant to assist the admissions office in testing applicants.
5. The admissions office may not make the test scores available to the counseling department.
6. Departmental functions may be guarded like international frontiers.⁵

Other outstanding authorities in personnel, such as Brumbaugh & Williamson, were convinced of the need for coordination in 1938.

The Method of Coordination: Vertical or Horizontal

A consideration of the specific way in which coordination might be achieved brought forth words of caution from many leaders in the field.

The specific plan in any university must be evolved, not superimposed.⁶ The peculiar organization of personnel work in any college is determined not so much by the theoretically-defensible allocation of functions, but by the particular personalities and personal relationships operating on that campus. Organizations

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4. Cowley, W. H. "The Strategy of Coordination," *Report of Fifteenth Annual Meeting of American College Personnel Association*, 1938.
 5. Becker, Harry A. "The Organization of Student Personnel Service" *School and Society*, October 9, 1948
 6. Brumbaugh, A. J. "Coordination of Personnel Services in the University of Chicago," *Report of Sixteenth Annual Meeting of American College Personnel Association*, 1939.

are built around people.⁷ Administration should be generally centralized.

"The usual organizational pattern for units in educational institutions is not applicable in toto to the organization of guidance services because this particular educational unit deals with shared responsibilities. . . . Guidance services have never been successfully departmentalized on any level of education. They do not lend themselves to line organization."⁸

The most highly centralized patterns of personnel administration reflect "the temptation of educators to borrow from military organizations with the hope of "streamlining" educational organizations, of eliminating administrative headaches, of lightening administrative loads. Actually, in the case of student-personnel services, administrative headaches and loads are compounded and "streamlining" has not been achieved by adding a "fifth wheel." Among other things Dean Hilton points up the fact when an area of responsibility deals with *fixed* and accepted values a single administrator can deal with it and retain sufficient prestige and popularity to be effective. However, when an area of responsibility deals with undetermined shifting or controversial values, it is better to use a commission or committee form of administration. The commission has more avenues of first-hand contact with the constituency (helps public relations). A Dean of Students frequently becomes unpopular because of the type of position he holds."⁹

Dr. Esther Lloyd Jones, who in 1938 advocated the hierarchical—one head idea for the unification of personnel services because she was eager to see some order come out of the chaos which had developed, has now had opportunity to observe such organizations in operation for the past ten years. Recently she visited several campuses where former men students of hers are serving in personnel programs which are headed by able women. The sense of humiliation and frustration which these men expressed led her to conclude that a more democratic and representative type of administration was needed. Specifically, she suggests the rotation of the chairmanship of the Personnel Council; student participation on Council; and regular representation of deans of men and women on the administrative Councils of the institution.

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7. Williamson, E. G. "Minnesota Program for Coordination of Decentralized Student Personnel," *Report of Sixteenth Annual meeting of American College Personnel Association*, 1939.
 8. Reed, Anna Y. *Guidance and Personnel Services in Education*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1944.
 9. Hilton, Eunice M. "The Organization of Student Personnel Services," *School and Society*, July 10, 1948.

In a paper which she presented in 1947 she pointed up what she has observed to be the outstanding weaknesses of the hierarchical system of unification.

1. The "head" tends to be too remote from students, to lose his or her touch with students.
2. Thus the most highly paid individual, theoretically the person best prepared professionally, is wasted on administrative detail, on developing job descriptions, details of coordinations, myriad individual staff conferences, and the like, instead of being able to give a good deal of time to the counseling and group life of students.
3. When the "head" loses his own intimate knowledge of current student life and problems, he loses his only real authority, the power to draw the attention of faculty and administration to the purposes and contributions of personnel work.
4. In industry, where the end purpose is the production and assembling of small material parts, it is not important that the best talent be kept in close touch with those parts; this is important, however, where the purpose is the best development of each student as an indivisible and total person.
5. Even though a "head" may wish not to be autocratic, in his or her methods, he is likely to fall back on authoritarian, autocratic methods of administration if by lack of training or from remoteness he should come to feel less adequate than those working more closely with students.
6. It is more difficult in colleges and universities than in industry to develop and impose a plan which staff must fit "or else"; for, with the traditions of tenure in colleges, the "or else" is sometimes hard to bring about.
7. Communication under hierarchical conditions is likely, at best, to be only two-way. Multiple communication is much more to be desired than two-way communication.
8. Organismic philosophy and psychology deny the idea that coordination is something external that succeeds in making elements operate in harmony; true coordination (of everything but mechanical elements) comes about only by efforts of the elements themselves to operate together harmoniously.

Implications for the Relatively Small College

It should be of interest to most of us here to note that only a few of the fairly small colleges tried the hierarchical—one head idea for the unification of personnel services. Those few who copied the pattern from some of the larger institutions, says Dr. Jones, have seen their beautiful pyramids of staff collapse in

a natural and wholesome reversion to a more closely knit horizontal relationship.¹⁰

If the hierarchical—one head system is not the pattern at least for our relatively small colleges, and if it is not considered good practice for the president or academic dean of a college to head up the personnel program what shall be our method of coordination? Probably all of us would agree that even though we do not have on our campuses very many specialists who are creating chaos by pushing their own interests, we do need to do a better job of coordinating our personnel services to students so as to avoid waste motion and omissions.

In order to avoid what Dean Hilton calls a "fifth wheel" in the administrative organization of the personnel program in the person of a "dean of students" who would operate between the dean of men and women on the one hand and the president of the college on the other, and yet achieve coordination, the following patterns of organization have been suggested:

The dean of men might serve also as personnel director, in which case the dean of women would serve as associate director of personnel. In some rare instances the order might be reversed but hardly in a Mennonite institution. The personnel director would serve also as chairman of the personnel committee or council and represent the students in the policy-making body of the institution.

That neither of the deans of students be designated as director of personnel and that the chairmanship of the personnel committee or council alternate between them. This would provide for a minimum of vertical hierarchy and would encourage multiple communication.

In order adequately to represent both men and women students in the policy-making bodies of the institution both the women dean of students and the men dean of students should be regularly represented since they should be the persons with the over-all view of the campus situation.

A brief look at a personnel program now in operation at a small college may be of help in making further applications. Since the writer is not too well informed as to the organizational patterns in effect at sister colleges the effect at unification described will pertain to the program at Goshen College.

At the suggestion of the North Central Association the personnel services at Goshen College were coordinated by means of a personnel committee in 1941-42. The committee is made up of

10. Lloyd-Jones, Esther M. "Personnel Administration in Relation to Problems of Women," *Trends in Student Personnel Work*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1947.

representative persons who are engaged in the performance of services to students related to admissions, orientation, testing, extra-curricular activities, housing, counseling, part-time employment, and health. Each year several faculty persons, who have no special personnel functions to perform, are asked to serve on this committee also.

The committee is, in reality, the policy forming body in the area of student personnel as far as non-academic matters are concerned. Up to the present it has tied in with the administration through its chairman, the president of the college, who also serves as personnel director, and has been the guiding spirit behind the present set-up. It should be said, however, that the president is hoping to relinquish the chairmanship of this committee because the promotion of the program calls for more time than he is able to give to it.

It is the opinion of the writer that our experience of utilizing a committee as a method of coordinating personnel services has proved itself very valuable indeed. Individual members of this committee representing the various services are given sufficient freedom in their sphere to challenge their best efforts. The committee reviews the plans brought to it but does not crush individual initiative. It is not a matter of reporting to a coordinator who reports to an executive assistant who reports to the president. Furthermore, since the particular area in question calls for dealing with controversial value at times the committee form of administration, because of its wider contacts and collective prestige, is able to function where a single administrator would hardly dare to function.

According to the recent emphasis in personnel literature the basis of a committee or council such as ours should be still wider so as to include student representation and possibly some one or two persons elected by the faculty in addition to those whose primary responsibility it is to perform personnel services and are therefore appointed by the president to serve on this council by virtue of their particular assignments.

The personnel services at Goshen College are centered in the personnel office where the dean of men and the dean of women and the religious counselor have their respective offices. The dean of men and dean of women work together on the same program with the same secretary and with central files. The division of responsibility is along sex lines in those areas where the services needed differ according to sex. Other responsibilities are shared or specifically designated as belonging to one or the other of the deans.

The large increase in enrollment during the last few years led to the expansion of the counseling service in two main directions.

In the first place, approximately 25 or 30 students are chosen early in the second semester to serve as counselors for the incoming freshmen for the following year. The personnel office selects these students and carries forward a period of training for them in the spring of the year. Their status is that of student assistant to the dean of men or dean of women. After the counselors have completed their period of training the dean of men and dean of women assign the counselees to the counselors as rapidly as admissions permit. Each counselor is assigned anywhere from five to eight counselees. Their efforts help the students with their initial adjustments to college life and also serve as a screening device for the personnel office where more or less serious maladjustments are involved. They are encouraged to counsel freely with the deans relative to their counselees and to utilize the records and other items placed in the semi-confidential folders. Periodic meetings of all counselors are planned during the first semester for the purpose of sharing impressions as to specific needs which are not being met and also to enable the personnel office to give further information and inspiration for the work.

In the second place, registration counseling for over six hundred students called for the utilization of almost all faculty members. This aspect of the academic counseling program is under the direction of the academic dean. He plans the in-service training for faculty members, supervises the preparations of folders containing the information needed for counseling and assigns the counselees to the counselors. Freshmen retain their faculty counselors to the end of their sophomore year. Upper classmen are counseled by their major professors. This plan assures each student the privilege of an unhurried interview and greatly reduces registration lines.

The personnel director is available to all students for counsel in connection with any personal problems. The personnel deans are responsible to plan for the systematic counseling of students with respect to any problems, whether personal or academic. They scheduled conferences for all freshmen in the fall of the year to explain the individual profile charts which indicate their status in connection with the Freshmen Testing Program in relation to the national norms.

In the spring of the year all sophomores are invited to confer with the deans relative to the results of the Sophomore Testing Program. A sufficient amount of time is allowed for each conference so that any other problem which the students want to introduce may be discussed.

Upper class students, except for those with special problems, are counseled by the deans in a more or less incidental way in connection with the extracurricular program.

The religious counselor is available for conference with all students. Arrangements for such conference are made with the secretary in the personnel office.

The dean of the college gives advice concerning special academic problems of students. Faculty counselors refer unusual cases to him and all students are free to call at his office at any time. He counsels all sophomores in the second semester of the year concerning their choice of major for the last two years of study. In this connection and at this time he is available for counsel in connection with vocational problems. In his capacity as chairman of extra-curricular activities he gives counsel relative to the extra-curricular load of students. He counsels officers of student organizations in connection with the activities of their respective organizations.

The dean of the Seminary exercises similar functions with respect to students in the Seminary.

The college physician conducts a daily clinic to counsel students on matters of health as well as to administer treatment in case of illness or injury.

The business manager and the controller are available to students for counsel relative to matters of student employment and personal financial problems.

A critical examination of one's program has the effect of making one aware of its many imperfections. Certainly the coordination of all these counseling efforts constitute a task of major proportions and there are many ways in which it can and must be improved. Nevertheless, the writer was also encouraged by the fact that the administrative structure of the program seems to lend itself quite readily to working relationships of a horizontal nature.

Time does not permit, nor was it our purpose, to give a complete description of personnel services. Certain aspects of the program have been highlighted as a means of pointing out how the coordination of personnel services may be achieved without resorting to the hierarchical one-head concept which is apparently coming into disrepute in many of the larger institutions of the country.

The Functions of the Dean of Women in the Small Christian College

The following list of functions was built up by referring to the various studies which have been made and by suggestions from the deans in Mennonite and affiliated colleges:

1. Counseling students with respect to personal problems, whether they be of a social, academic, or religious nature.
2. Supervising the social activities and social education of students.

3. Supervising the housing of women students.
4. Supervising an employment bureau for the benefit of women students needing part-time work.
5. Participating in the coordination and integration of personnel services.
6. Participating in the formulation of policies of the institution.
7. Serving as head resident, at least for a period of time, long enough to help her understand the problems involved first hand.
8. Contributing to an educational climate which is conducive to the maximum development of students.
9. Teaching a course in line with major field of training.
10. Assuming responsibility to help women students who experience behavior problems to grow into responsible members of the Christian community.
11. Working with groups of students engaged in various activities.
12. Interpreting to students, as the opportunity arises, the challenge of Christian service which is being presented by the church which is providing Christian educational opportunities for them.

Some deans also function as vocational counselors and less frequently as placement officers. The specific functions on a given campus are almost too numerous to mention. The dean of women is generally considered to be in charge of the welfare of women students. This requires her to be an administrative and coordinating officer and a general practitioner in the field of student personnel.

The Qualifications of the Dean of Women:

A review of the functions generally outlined for the dean of women makes one realize that the qualifications necessary to perform such functions are staggering. A person may be said to be qualified for a position when he is fitted by character, personality, experience, and training to carry out the functions of the position. The core of the training courses for deans of women has centered itself largely about the knowledge of the profession and the techniques needed to carry out the functions listed earlier.

Training for the dean of women has passed the level of the Masters degree. Studies by leaders in the field indicate that more

then three-fourth of the deans (1936) had M. A. degrees.¹¹

The pattern of experience desirable for deans of women and head residents is not altogether clear as yet. Research is needed. The question as to whether the emerging pattern of experience for deans should include living as a head resident with students is being explored.

Most certainly the undergraduate program of preparation should provide a broad background in general education. Cultural opportunities, such as foreign travel and wide reading, are also essential for the dean of women who is to make a significant contribution to the educational climate on the college campus.

The basic courses for her professional training, which have been outlined by Syracuse University where Dean Eunice Hilton is responsible for preparing deans of women, are as follows: Adult Education, Higher Education, Organization and Supervision of Student Residences, Seminar in Administration of Student Personnel Work, Workshop in Student Personnel Administration, Principles, Philosophy and Techniques in Student Personnel Work, The Development and Administration of Student Personnel Programs in Educational Institutions.

The basic courses at Teachers' College, Columbia University, where Dr. Esther Lloyd Jones and Ruth Strang wield a considerable influence, are as follows: Psychology of Adjustment, Personality Development and Mental Hygiene, Techniques in Personnel Work, Education in American Culture, Student Personnel Administration and Youth Guidance.

Personal Qualifications which contribute to Success:

In 1932 Eunice Acheson reported the results of a study which she made under the direction of Dr. Ruth Strang regarding qualifications which contribute to success in the office of dean of women.¹² The final conclusions which were drawn after a great many more or less objective facts were evaluated, are as follows:

1. A "successful" dean of women keeps abreast with the changing world and seems to understand the modern student.
2. She either possesses or acquires a sympathy and understanding which inspires student confidences and leads students to come to her with problems. She also possesses skill and technique in counseling.

11. Hilton, Eunice M. "Deans of Women and Head Residents—A Forward Look into Their Qualifications," *Journal of the National Association of Deans of Women*, Vol. V, No. 4, June, 1942.

12. Acheson, Eunice Mae, *The Effective Dean of Women*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1932.

3. The "successful" dean has an emotional poise and stability which evidences something "straight and steady in her character", and which tends to create confidence as well as to color her relations with students.
4. She rarely dominates a situation or an organization but guides indirectly, placing the major responsibility on student shoulders.
5. She shows a personal interest in each student and tries to aid the individual in developing his best potentialities.
6. She is socially adaptable in any group, especially with students, and enters whole-heartedly into their activities.
7. The "successful" dean tries to create a friendly atmosphere in her office and to destroy the feeling that she is a disciplinarian rather than an advisor.
8. She utilizes student government and student opinion as much as possible.
9. She is consistent and fair in her dealings, showing no partiality.
10. In disciplinary situations she acts as arbitrator and not avenger and prosecutor. She also uses constructive rather than destructive measures.

Having given considerable attention to those qualifications which are considered essential for a successful dean of women by leaders in the educational field, we now turn to take a look at our relatively small colleges with their specific objectives to provide an education which is essentially Christian at the core—where ideally Christ is the center of reference. It becomes very evident immediately that further qualifications are necessary for the dean of women who is to contribute her share in fulfilling the mission of Mennonite and affiliated colleges. It is the opinion of the writer that Christian educators should not lack when it comes to the best on general and professional preparation but that they must have that plus—a genuine Christian experience. There must be a Christian philosophy of life which permeates educational content and method. Such a philosophy, frequently utilizes techniques while rejecting basic assumptions which gave rise to them.

It is imperative that deans of students be thoroughly committed to the objectives of the institutions which they serve. The conviction that we, of the historic peace churches, have a message that the world desperately needs and which our colleges, through their students, can be the means of conveying, gives rise to a powerful sense of mission. It is this sense of mission, coupled with the assurance that one has been called of God, and is being sustained by Him in the performance of his daily tasks, that enables

one to see how the seemingly insignificant details can contribute to larger goal, namely the promotion of the interests of the Kingdom of God.

ORGANIZING THE FACULTY FOR EFFECTIVE INSTRUCTION AND RESEARCH

By J. S. Schultz

This topic has three major concepts in it: organizing, faculty or teachers, and instruction or teaching; thinking of the last term research, as in close relation to teaching. Trusting that I have caught the thought of the committee that planned this program, I propose that we concentrate in our thinking on the most vital function of a college, that of teaching and this as inseparately related to learning. Further we should like to assure that to teach effectively and to improve instruction continuously, the faculty needs to organize. The very thought of studying the teaching process and making room for collaboration among teachers in such a study is still somewhat of an innovation. Many a college teacher of today would still count those intruders, who would inquire into his methods of teaching, his selection and organization of subject matter of course content, or his types of examinations and his basis for determining marks. Such concepts are isolationism or rugged individualism, though not necessarily in common use in our professional vocabulary, cannot be nearly as much conjured with in our province as with politicians. Many would hold that college teaching is very much an individual matter. In the minds of some the principles that "teachers are born and not made" alone determines that matter; others would hold their calling so sacred that a study of teaching problems or mutual help among teachers would be an invasion of sacred rights. So much for an introduction of the thought of faculty organization for effective teaching.

Literature on college teaching, while not by any means plentiful nor adequately covering specific problems, has become more available in the last decade or two. A number of writers, through books and magazines, have projected their thoughts into the private sanctum of the college professor and made attempts to tell him that there is room for a "more excellent way" than that of imitating even his most idealized predecessor; in other words, there is something we can learn about teaching college age folks, just as we have accepted for a century that we can learn something about teaching elementary school age children and for a half century, that we can learn something about causing adolescents to learn. In still a different way, it is beginning to dawn on us that even at college age we are teaching flesh, blood and brain cells of young people rather than subjects or books, as such.

Over and above books and magazine articles published on college teaching, the greatest impetus this movement has had is per-

haps the wide range participation by about a hundred colleges in the N. C. A. study on teacher education in Liberal Arts colleges of the last dozen years or so, with which many of us are familiar. This movement started first with two to three day conferences, then annual 4-week workshops and year-around individual college studies followed. It dealt with the improvement of the preparation H. S. teachers received in Liberal Arts colleges. This study, especially the workshops, has done much in making many college teachers conscious of teaching problems which are as applicable to effective teaching in college as in high school. Dr. Russell Cooper, then of Cornell College, Iowa, now of the University of Minnesota, conceived the idea and has been directing the study ever since.

The four-week summer workshops in recent years, one at Minneapolis and another in Chicago, are conducted very democratically, each attended by one or more representatives from each of about forty colleges. A majority of participants are college classroom teachers from widely differing areas of subject preparation with only a scattering of college administrators. Panels, committees, and larger group discussions, occasional lectures, casual person to person contacts—all add much to a teacher's receptivity first, then constructive thinking about the improvement of teaching. I feel confident, that no person is the same teacher after the workshop experience that he was before. And it follows logically, that to the degree that desire for, and methods of, more effective teaching has gripped this workshop participant, to a similar degree his colleagues in his home institution will be inoculated with a similar concern. Better college teaching through mutual help and cooperation will result. The N.C.A. coordinator's visit and the monthly packets with leaflets on the result of what is happening on the campuses add considerably to the continuity and integration of the various stimuli.

Emphasis on teaching students by means of subject instead of concentrating on subject matter, is brought to the fore by President E. Hughes of Iowa State College. He says, "All teachers impart knowledge to their students, some few leave a personal imprint of their character and personality on their students. These latter are the men and women who really teach and develop the best that is in the students.,¹ By way of organization for effective teaching, Dr. Hughes, further recommends that a department head or senior teacher ask a new teacher to select an adviser with the understanding that each would visit the other's classes and then they share their experiences. He holds that much dull, inexperienced teaching is going on under inexperienced teachers because they are given no help.

Referring to Dr. Cooper again, he writes in an article on "The Promotion of Professional Growth in Faculty Personnel"; "Contrary to the opinion of most students, college faculty members must definitely be regarded as human beings. As such, (they) must either grow or die".² The teacher's functions are teaching, research, and counseling. To stimulate growth in teaching effectiveness, the writer warns that, for instance, promotions are not to be based primarily on research and writing, but on dynamic teaching. A teacher's own evaluations of his work and that of his colleagues, and the student's appraisal of the same, are additional suggestions. Cooper's synonym for research—Development of Creativity—is striking and constructively suggestive. To me it seems that the teacher in small Christian colleges such as we here represent, will have little time or occasion to add to the advancement of knowledge by his research except in very exceptional cases. That is the function of large universities, foundations, and similar organizations. But to add to human progress by way of creativeness in the class he teaches, or in helping to clarify distinguishing features and objectives in his own institution etc., much of value can be produced. The third function, student counseling, cannot be divorced from effective teaching and involves much organization as this pertains to human relations.

"How Do Faculty Members Like Their Jobs"³ is the title of a 23-item questionnaire on which data were collected about a year ago from over 1300 college teachers reported by Fred J. Kelly. According to this study class size is satisfactory to 70 per cent and unsatisfactory to 24 per cent. Teaching load receives very high approval, this opinion being voiced by faculty members having fewer than 400 student-clock-hours. More than 500 student-clock-hours is being rated unsatisfactory by many. Dr. Kelly modifies this however by generalizing that "very considerable percentage of teachers carrying the heaviest student-clock-hour load regard all factors of the teaching load as "very favorable". With reference to no-teaching duties, the author says that these "cannot be held accountable for any significant amount of feeling of dissatisfaction with their jobs among higher education faculty personnel".

Factors bringing a high degree of dissatisfaction in the area of salary and working conditions, the following are reported so by over 25 per cent of teachers: salary received, opportunity for promotion, research opportunities, official travel, sabattical and other leaves, office space and clerical help. Answers to two summary questions convey the general attitude of college teachers toward their profession. Nearly half are almost certain they

2. 2 to 113

3. 4pp. 193-6.

remain with their present institution and nearly three-fourths expect to stay in higher education.

Keeping in mind that we are pursuing the problem of organizing the faculty for effective teaching, let us excerpt briefly another report that furnishes valuable background material for our study. "Brooklyn College Students Rate Their Teachers", represents the type of inquiry that has been found very helpful and acceptable in some institutions but considered with grave misgivings in others. Should such a technique be used in our colleges for purposes of improving teaching? At Brooklyn College about three-fourths of the 384 members of the faculty showed enough interest in the study to attend a meeting where results were discussed. About three-fourths of those present expressed a favorable opinion but only 30 per cent of them considered the data valid. About two-fifths considered the student rating helpful while a little over one-fifth said they were of no help at all. The president thought the survey had served its purpose because of the professional discussion it had provoked.

Here is a brief analysis of the students' conception of over 6600 students answering the questionnaire on good teaching. We quote: "The qualities essential for effective instruction vary considerably in the students' eyes, depending upon the type of course taught. The qualities regarded as most important in the arts were, in order, knowledge of subject, encouragement of thought, organization of subject matter, and tolerance toward disagreement."⁵ A few additional observations are of interest. According to student opinion a strong majority prefer teachers in arts and social sciences who express personal opinions but in sciences the opposite is true. One of the greatest failings of teachers is that of not stimulating thought. Fairness in examinations is here not counted as among the most significant, yet teachers are rated low in that quality. In closing this particular review, it is well to remember that there is a wide range of difference among students in their opinions in such as the above questions.

Mere reference to a few more books on the subject of effective college teaching and its organization will have to suffice here. Houston Pituson's "Great Teachers, Portrayed by Those Who Studied Under Them," and Jacques Barzun "The Teacher in America", are highly recommended. Most widely known is possibly "Better Colleges—Better Teachers",⁶ a small volume written by Russell M. Cooper and Collaborators. Much practical information is brought together in this little book on college teaching. It offers the first printed report of the study

5. Ibid. p.95-6.

6. 2.

referred to above, still continuing and much expanded since then.

Internal Stimulation to Instruction and Research

To this point we have attempted to set forth the intricacy of the teaching-learning process and that in the light of college procedures. The fact is that systematic study of these problems has so far found little room in the college teacher's formal schooling on either under-graduate or graduate level. Thus that type of growth is dependent almost entirely on in-service training or education which means that at present college teachers must learn from each other while on the job. Let us enumerate kinds of organization found in college for this purpose. Faculty meetings are unquestionably taken for granted in every college. Some hold them weekly, some semimonthly, some monthly. In some institutions the faculty may break up into divisions or departments. Assuming that we are here only interested in the practical aspect of our problem, I am passing by the problems of the larger colleges or universities where the separate schools or colleges call meetings of separate faculties.

Let us begin with the regular conventional faculty meeting. The purpose of this is to "keep the machinery running smoothly, announcements made etc. This type of meeting is necessary, without it the school would deteriorate, but in itself, it is seldom very productive of better classroom teaching or improved student-teacher relationship. Such meetings are being held once a month or so, I believe, and every teacher should attend. No college faculty can operate satisfactorily without standing committees and occasional temporary committees. I should like to discuss committees here because upon them depends the groundwork.

Committees, not too many, need to properly divide the basic problems among themselves and stand between the administrators and the faculty as a whole. The major areas such as college administration, curriculum and instruction, and student wellbeing each need a committee to represent these respective interests. In addition to these over-all areas, more specialized duties fall on other permanent or some, on special committees. Since the whole college concentrates on learning and teaching, all faculty and committee concerns must contribute to this over-all objective. Let us, however, take a closer look from here on into the more immediate contributing factors to improving instruction.

Let us assume one rather common pattern of organization designed for making teaching more effective, that of the faculty or administration providing a faculty committee for the purpose of directing the study, an Institutional Study Committee. The dean of the college is likely to be a member of this group, since this is one of his chief concerns. Such problems as curriculum, methods and principles of teaching, objectives of the college, grading and

marking or the broader problem of evaluation including examinations, student organizations including participation in college government, counseling, these and many others serve well as study problems for a college faculty. If democratically dealt with, the faculty will likely assist the special study committee in choosing or even planning the study. Any study will likely begin with a survey of practices that prevail, determining higher goals that should be reached. These can be established either by adopting what some other institution has tried and found successful or what some specialists theoretically recommend; or goals can also be developed by an analysis of findings of local current practices and drawing conclusions from these. It is certain that the value and effectiveness of such changes or innovations will be far greater if the whole faculty enters into such analysis and recommendations.

Once the problem for study is chosen and planned, the special committee will promote its pursuit, each teacher adapting methods to his own classes. If departments are grouped into divisions, these latter are likely to find common ground within themselves and hold division meetings in which to compare notes on progress made, obstacles met, changes necessitated, etc. Monthly meetings by the faculty as a whole, or in divisions or otherwise arranged for committees, will be very profitable. While end results can be of appreciable value to the participants or even to the profession, the process of teachers working on such a common problem can easily be its own reward.

Permit me to insert here as an example a simple study we carried on at Bluffton in the late war years which dealt with a comparison of all the sixty-four courses taught during one semester. We teachers kept records of about a dozen items relative to the course in question, most important ones of which were such as, number of pages of required reading in text, in reference books or periodicals, number and length of papers written for the course, number of tests and examinations; division of class time into discussion, lecture, student reports, tests and quizzes; evidences of work done by students which was not required. We learned for instance that pages of required reading per credit hour varied from less than hundred to over six hundred. Naturally there are many factors that enter, so that from this fact alone none should draw conclusions that this is a measure of "touchiness" of the teacher. I don't recall that either the teacher that required much or the one that required little took any particular pride in his assignments. As suggested before, such a study, by teachers learning what others are doing, each can draw his own conclusion of how well he is teaching and wherein he wishes to change. Of a bit of interest was the fact that number of examinations given during a semester fluctuated between none and four.

This does not include short quizzes. The mode was three but may I explain that we as a faculty are not committed to a system of six-week examinations. Timing examinations is the teachers' choice except at the end of the first six weeks of the first semester and this study was made during the second semester.

As to number of texts for a course the report shows that of the 64 courses 49 used one, seven not any, some others as high as three. Most courses demanded reference reading in books or periodicals. Twenty-eight courses required papers to be written. Responses indicated that in seven courses students did an appreciable amount of purely voluntary study. As to methods of teaching, only three courses were reported as being 100 per cent lecture courses while the great majority showed approximately an equal distribution of time between discussion and lecture, with about a third of the courses involving reports in class by students as a method of study. Let that suffice as a brief report of a simple study or check exercise which helped to make us conscious of a few major elements in our process of teaching. I hope time will permit other such summaries from other institutions at the close of this paper.

Now let us return to other approaches and patterns of faculty organizations for greater effectiveness in teaching. Other activities carried on at weekly or monthly or semi-monthly faculty meetings as a whole or in sections might be the study and discussion of teaching problems drawn from experience of the discussion of books on pertinent subjects or reports from other institutions. Lectures by specialists presented to whole faculties from one single institution or occasionally to faculties from several neighboring colleges offer inspiration or and instruction.

Beyond the faculty meetings of an hours length or so, many colleges have adopted the retreat or conference plan under which all teachers of an institution meet for several days or a major part of a week, preferably before the fall opening of the school year at which time mind meets mind as well as soul meets soul so that a most harmonious spirit may prevail between teachers as well as between teachers and students. More effective instruction resulting from this? Indeed, at least potentially. Approaching the problem of learning and teaching from the angle of human relationships on a spiritual level, I must confess I have left the classroom many a time after the period when I felt that there had been a minimum of mind meeting mind or spirit meeting spirit during the hour; and I am talking of so called courses and not of Bible courses. At other times I have sensed a freedom of sharing of thought, knowledge, experience, emotions to a degree that I came near challenging the class to start building tabernacles as did Peter on the mountain top. Yes, there is inspiration in teaching; teaching is an art but not only an art but also a

science. Good hard-headed preparation in proper balance with deep feeling and inspiration, both are needful. Such a series of faculty conferences, whether before the school year opens or later are likely to bring about an integration of total faculty effort and give direction to the cooperative endeavor between teachers and students, such as is sure to bring fruit.

There is yet at least one other approach to faculty organization for improvement of learning and teaching; I am thinking of faculty—student cooperation. I am aware that this is a very debatable issue. By one principle it is assumed that teachers teach and students learn and there is no mutuality about it. Is not the professor three or thirty years older than even the wisest of the students, the college senior? Has he not specialized in his field, received his Ph.D. or at least some advanced degree for which he has labored desperately, all of which go as evidence that he “knows his stuff” and therefore fully qualifies to teach these inferiors? In all this there has also taken place a selective process by which the lesser qualified have dropped by the wayside and only the upper level of intelligence received the advanced degrees.

Teacher older than the student? Usually. More mature? Yes. Better schooled? Without question. Superior in every way? No. If we compare the total personality of the teacher with that of one student or the average of the whole class, there is no question about the teacher's higher qualification as leader above those of the students but it must be remembered that in certain details many students may have had advantages over the teacher, and the following is a close corollary; students can learn a great deal from each other. The student, while in the process of finding his course of reasoning to arrive at his conviction, can easily be of greater help to another student who is struggling through a similar problem than the teacher who never seriously met that particular problem or who is apt to skip many minor steps in his logic because he has traveled the route so many times. The very fact of one or two or three dozen students discussing a vital life problem, each bringing his own background of experience and his own individuality of feeling and thought processes into it, may help any one of them a great deal more in finding his solution than the teacher ever could. That does not make the teacher superfluous but puts him into an entirely different position, rather as referee or better counselor, than as one who is assumed to have the correct answers.

This aspect of organization for more effective teaching could have two approaches to it. The teacher may want to organize his particular class in a way by which now this student, now that one takes over certain responsibility for leading a discussion, bringing in a report, looking up or making a survey of opinions on a given question or such. The whole atmosphere of the class

can also be set in such a way that a very free manner of interchange of student and teacher opinion or conviction takes place. Secondly, organization of faculty committees may be such that students are represented in the same to help make and execute plans of courses, activities, teaching methods, etc. The thought just expressed is related closely to the general problem of student government or student participation in government, perhaps better characterized by college government, which might well mean that faculty and students together work out teaching or other problems. Of course, certain decisions must be left to the faculty just as certain others are not even submitted to faculty vote but are determined by conference, board, or other authority. I have become more convinced in recent years that one of the greatest errors or evils in our educative systems in home, elementary or high school or college is the feeling too often prevalent that the teacher-learner relation is that of a game by which each tries to outwit the other; each must hold himself ready to attack, lest the other attacks first and he is placed on the defensive. That is utterly vicious and unwholesome and never can be a part of sound education. To avoid this, any form of organization built on cooperation is apt to help; the particular pattern is not important. Let it be any arrangement by which teacher and students accept each other as sincere co-workers, searchers of common ends for the good of all.

Now in closing may we sum up. We have attempted to sit with bold relief the conviction that college teachers, in order to be effective, must above all concern themselves with development and growth—mental, spiritual and physical—of older adolescents and young people. Since the learning-teaching situation so thoroughly involves human relationships and its effectiveness so much depends on relations of all participants in the educative process, many potential values are lost if sharing of experiences by teachers with each other and also students with each other are not taken advantage of. That suggests the third principle; namely, that any cooperative undertaking, to be effective, calls for some organization, just enough to expedite mutual assistance in professional growth. This will add to activity on three levels: an occasional technical research, informal minor reasearch, and mere check-ups or a series of cooperative discussions leading to findings or resolutions. These several endeavors should result in organizing the faculty for effective instruction and research.

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MENNONITE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Why Established and What They Have Achieved

By

Silas Hertzler

The cynic wants things to **seem** as they **are**. The prophet wants things to **be** as they **seem**. The typical modern American is fundamentally a cynic. He looks on the seamy side of life. He calls himself a realist. He says we must face life as it is. He even sings himself into a coma and says over and over again—"Oh, how I love life." But the life about which he sings and which he loves is superficial. It is secular. He sees only the objective, the materialistic, the pragmatic. He knows only the here and now, and does not care to consider the things of the spirit. His criterion of values is purely the social. All decisions are based on the mores of the group. This short-sighted outlook of the day is superbly illustrated by the adolescent girl who said, "I'd rather be dead than to be out of style."

Early Parochial Schools

The parochial school movement in the Mennonite church is a positive attempt today to meet this age old problem of secularism, pragmatism, and materialism. It is a twentieth century return looking toward a spiritual solution to a problem which has defied politicians, secular educators and all dreamers of social utopias. It is an attempt to put first things first. It is an attempt to meet the challenge of secularism by making things of the spirit the vital issue around which all else revolves. It is an attempt to make God, the church, Christian education, the Christian home, the natural center of interest for every Christian, both young and younger.

The movement is not new. For the American Mennonites it is as old as are the Mennonite settlements themselves. Thirteen Mennonite families composed of thirty-three men, women and children reached Philadelphia, October 6, 1683, having come from Germany. On October 24, 1683, these families went five or six miles north of what was then Philadelphia, and started Germantown.¹ This was the first Mennonite settlement in the American colonies. The classically trained and highly gifted Francis Daniel Pastorius, lawyer and teacher, was the able leader of the colony. Pastorius was academically versed in seven languages, with fluent

1. Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, Philadelphia, 1883 p. 30.

speaking ability in German, English and French.² He was interested in seeing that an education was made possible for members of his colony. Fifty acres of land were given for a school. So in 1700, "It was found good to start a school here in Germantown." Three men were appointed at that time to collect subscriptions and to arrange with a teacher to start the school. The school actually opened on January 11, 1702, with Pastorius as the first teacher.³ The school seems to have been under the dual control of the Mennonites and the Quakers. The first meeting house was built in 1708,⁴ on land given for church purposes in 1702 or 1703. This building was used for a school, and was the first in the American colonies exclusively under Mennonite control.

Germantown was a village, and was poorly located for agricultural purposes. Also it soon became too small for the numerous incoming Mennonites. The second settlement was begun in 1702, in the Skippack region in what is now Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. This is about thirty miles north of Germantown. These two settlements were the beginning of an expansion of the Mennonites in the United States which is still in progress. Knowing the value of an education these settlers also early interested themselves in schools.

Christopher Dock

On June 8, 1717, in the settlement of the Skippack region, Matthias van Bebber and his wife gave 100 acres of land to Henry Sellen, Claus Jansen and five others as trustees, on which to build a schoolhouse and fence in a burying ground.⁵ All these trustees were Mennonites. School was begun at least by 1718, with the great Christopher Dock, the pious schoolmaster on the Skippack, as the first teacher. Dock came to America about 1714. He taught for ten years, and about 1728 decided to leave teaching for farming. During the time when farming was his chief interest, however, Dock did give four of his summers to teaching the smaller children. In 1738 Dock left his farming and gave his full energies once more to teaching.⁶ For years following this time he taught two schools, three days per week at Skippack and, three days at Salford. The school house at Skippack was

2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

3. Jean Sarah Moore, *Religious Education Among German Inhabitants of Colonial Pennsylvania*, M. A. Thesis, 1925, p. 19.

4. C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonites*, Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Indiana, 1920, p. 197.

5. Martin G. Brumbaugh, *The Life of Christopher Dock*, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1908, p. 13.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

built in 1725, and seems to have been used for Sunday services as well as for the school.

The plan of having one building for both public worship and for school purposes seems to have been quite common among the Mennonites of colonial Pennsylvania. Sometimes the same room was used for school purposes during the week and for church services on Sunday. Sometimes the building was divided into two rooms with a swinging partition between, one room being used for Sunday worship and the other for week day school. When the larger space was needed the school room was also opened for use on Sunday.

By 1776 Mennonite settlements were found in eleven of the counties of Pennsylvania, as well as in Washington County, Maryland, and in Rockingham County, Virginia. By this date at least sixteen schools were being conducted by the Mennonites in six of the counties of Pennsylvania. There were four schools each in Bucks and in Montgomery Counties. There were three schools each in Lancaster and in Lehigh Counties. There was one school in Chester County and one in York County. It seems almost certain that more schools were being conducted for the records are very incomplete.

Pennypacker⁷ quotes a letter written from Germantown, September 3, 1708, signed by Jacob Gaetschalck, Harman Karsdorp, Martin Kolb, Isacc Van Sintern and Conradt Jansen, presenting what was called a loving and friendly request for some catechisms for the children, and some little testaments for the young. The same letter says further that the members at Germantown were poorly supplied with Psalm books, and that there was no Bible in the meeting house. A later translation of this letter adds, that since the congregation was quite small, and to have the printing done in the colonies would cost a great deal of money, "If the ministers would kindly send over some books, whatever they send will be appreciated by the poor." This letter was addressed to Hermionus Schwyn, Doctor at Amsterdam.⁸ This letter indicates the intense religious concern of these early Mennonites, and shows that they realized the dangers of not having sufficient access to the Bible for the use of their children.

As an example of the religious teaching in general and especially of the use of the Bible in their schools, let us consider

7. Pennypacker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 179.

8. Translation made by C. J. Stroer, at Amsterdam, April 23, 1909, and quoted in Mennonite Year Book and Almanac, 1910, pp. 24-26.

further the work of the greatest colonial Mennonite teacher, Christopher Dock. He was a member of the Mennonite church before he came to Pennsylvania about 1714, and always remained an active worker in the church. He was pious and devout in his own Christian life. The greatest ambition of his life was to be an effective Christian teacher for his own children and for those of his Mennonite neighbors. William Lyon Phelps says he himself loved to teach just as a painter loves to paint. This represents too, the spirit of Dock. He felt that he had a divine call to teach, just as any good preacher of the gospel feels he is called of God to preach.⁹

Text On School Management

In 1750 Christopher Dock wrote his, "Schul-Ordnung" which was probably the first book on school management written in the American colonies.¹⁰ It was printed in German in 1770. It is from a study of this book that we learn much about the strong moral and religious emphasis in all the teaching of Dock, and also of his use of the Bible as the basis for his Christian teaching. He did teach the principles of Christianity by precept, of course, but since he lived such a sincerely devout Christian life, he taught most effectively also by his own example.

The school taught by Dock was elementary only. The subject matter of the course of study was traditional. It included the alphabet, learning to read, writing, and elementary number work. As soon as the children could read just a little, they were put into what their teacher called the Testament class. Here they read and studied the New Testament. This strong Biblical emphasis was in marked contrast to the secular emphasis of our day. It was also expected that the parents teach the Christian catechism to the children in their homes.

When the older boys and girls arrived in the morning they were given a chapter in the New Testament to read at sight. When school officially opened, the daily devotional services consisted of singing a psalm or a hymn, and the Lord's Prayer, or some other portion of the Bible was explained. Many portions of the Bible were taught in this way throughout the year. Immediately after getting the smaller children started with their lessons, the Testament class was daily given a verse to memorize. Later each forenoon the Testament class had a second lesson in which a chapter was read by the pupils and explained by the teacher. Parallel sections of the New Testament often were studied simultaneously. Further, Biblical memory work was

⁹. Brumbaugh, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁰. *Ibid*, p. 13.

emphasized if time remained for this. The noon hour was used for Biblical instruction, by having one of the older pupils read aloud, for the benefit of all, some Old Testament story, a section from one of the prophets, or perhaps some portion of the book of Proverbs. After the arithmetic class in the afternoon, the Testament class for the older pupils was given drill in locating chapters and books in the New Testament. Rewards often were given for speed in locating the assigned portion. Not only was the New Testament the reading book of the school, but writing assignments also were based on the Bible.

Since no public schools existed in Pennsylvania until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century, the only education possible had to be given by private aid of some kind. Additional evidence of the colonial Mennonite interest in education, and particularly in Christian education, is another letter sent to Holland, October 19, 1745, signed by six representatives of the Skippack congregation, requesting a high German translation of the Mennonite Martyr's Mirror, written originally in the Dutch language. This was to be used particularly for the teaching of Biblical non-resistance.¹¹

Opposition to Public Schools

As far as the writer has been able to get the pulse of the early Mennonite churches, the first opposition to schools, of which the Amish, and some Mennonites are accused today, came when Governor Ritner of Pennsylvania about 1857, tried to push the public school idea in Mennonite communities. The Common School Law, or the law establishing the Free School System had been passed in 1834. Acceptance of the free school system was not at first compulsory, but a state appropriation was given if the plan was accepted, and no appropriation was given if the parochial school plan were continued.¹² The Mennonite opposition at this time was not opposition to education but opposition to the secularization of education.

In ancient times the Greeks taught that anyone who knew the right would automatically do it. Today we know this is not true, for there are many people with Christian information who do not live Christian lives, simply because they prefer emotionally to be selfish or unkind, or anti-social. Christopher Dock and the other colonial teachers began to appreciate this fact, though doubtless they did not quite work this theory out in their minds as carefully as do the better teachers today. These colonial Men-

¹¹ Pennypacker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 161.

¹² J. P. Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 164-166.

nonite teachers did emphasize subject matter. They taught facts, and they taught Biblical facts. But more, they tried to create an attitude toward doing the right which would encourage permanent social and Christian habits of living. As an illustration, Dock wrote in his *Geistliches Magazien* and in his *Schul-Ordnung*, one hundred rules of conduct which he used in teaching. These were not merely memorized and while some of them appear quaint and old-fashioned, they do represent an outlook which brought character and not just intellectual learning. Such motivating factors as emotions, feelings, attitudes and convictions, as are emphasized in educational procedure in our own day, were put behind and under the correct information, and appropriate character seemed almost automatically to flow into the lives of boys and girls.

Christianity is the only religion in which beliefs and morals are inseparably united. The relation between beliefs and morals can be illustrated by a lesson from physical science, particularly from chemistry in which when they are united they become one, and are not contiguous to one another as are elements in an alloy. Again, the colonial Mennonite teachers may not have put their fingers on this philosophical principle and intellectually separated it from the mass of ideas they carried, but they acted on it, and did see that boys and girls were led to want to do the right. They were not satisfied to drive them by fear, to external mechanical obedience, as is done in an army.

In colonial Mennonite life it seems from the available evidence that the church school was an integral part of the church life of almost every congregation. The early American Mennonite church historian Cassel tells how he himself taught in the Salford meeting house in 1829.¹³ In this stone building a room at the east end was partitioned off for a school. It seems probable that in many cases schools were started in communities where Mennonite families had located, and that these centers each became the nucleus for a congregation. Both Wickersham and Cassel speak of this. Wickersham reports that the Mennonites were intensely interested in having their children receive a good elementary education.¹⁴

Parochial Schools Today

The reason that Mennonites want parochial schools, or private Christian day schools in our day is the same reason for which they came to America in 1683. They wanted then to wor-

¹³. Daniel K. Cassel, *History of the Mennonites*, Philadelphia, 1888, p. 222.

¹⁴. Wickersham, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 164-166.

ship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without civil interference. To some individuals in our generation the principle which is made an issue, may seem trivial and perhaps insignificant. In the past private Christian schools may have been merely an attempt to maintain isolation by keeping the German language. Or they may have had direct bearing on an attempt to keep separated from the world by means of formal dress regulations. Avoidance of temptation by isolation from others in business and political affairs may seem more fundamental. The secular world is fundamentally selfish and often dishonest. The earlier guileless simplicity of the Lancaster County Mennonite, and of the Elkhart County Amish, furnished fertile soil for misrepresentation. The agrarian mind lent itself to separation and simplicity and was fundamentally honest, so that the avoidance of an oath seemed but a natural part of their lives. The word of the Mennonite meant more than the oath of many others.

The Mennonite parochial school at its best, is positive and not negative. It teaches the child to do the right thing instead of teaching him to avoid the evil. A parochial school need not give children an inferiority feeling. It can act, and at its best, it does represent an affirmation and not mere negation. Or stated another way, if it is negation, it is negation for a cause. It does cost more; and this is a sore spot for some Mennonites who have for generations felt that Christianity is free. It demands self denial, but self denial for a cause. Purpose, so constituted, is a driving force of no mean value. It is what William James called the propelling power of a new affection. It is the planting of a seed that in itself dies, that it may produce thirty-fold, sixty-fold. Love is positive. It is not self pity nor asceticism. It is never austerity for its own sake. Albert Schweitzer, Ghandi, and Jesus all denied themselves of many things. But there was a great driving force behind their lives, so that the minor deprivations of the moment were insignificant in comparison with the high goal to be reached. They were only steps in progress toward a worthier end. The Mennonite parochial school is such a challenge. It is the teaching church. It is the Christian church propagating its gospel. It is one step in its personal and social missionary program.

The number attending Mennonite parochial schools is comparatively small. But to infer that the movement is new and insignificant is to forget the history of the church. It is only in our generation that Mennonites are waking up to the fact that the Christian church has been deceived by the American state. When public education was taken over by the politicians a century ago, even though schools were managed by the public, as contrasted with the church, the public was religiously minded even if many

were not church members. A large percentage of people, then, lived on the borrowed Christianity of their ancestors.

Today, three generations later, secularism has become rampant, and there is but little borrowed Christianity to influence the ethics and the morals of many American families. Therefore, the majority may often be satisfied with a secular social citizenship emphasis in our schools, which is far from satisfactory to a personally converted Christian individual. In fact, the civil influence of our day is so completely and entirely pragmatic, that the national philosophy is satisfied with the theory of relativism, which disregards all revelation from Jehovah, and whole heartedly accepts the notion that truth is what the majority wants. This may be far from true, as every conservative Christian knows. For the first 150 years of American Mennonite life the Mennonite school was the handmaid of the church. Devoted, loyal, energetic, personally consecrated, and conscientious Mennonite teachers supplemented the church leaders in an effective Christian program.

For the last one hundred years the church has allowed the state to monopolize the schools, and the national disintegration of morals has ebbed its way into the church. The typical secular, behavioristic, materialistic, social, economic American public school curriculum is today being denounced by the best American psychologists and educators. This curriculum perhaps has been one underlying cause of the political and social unrest, juvenile delinquency and general moral breakdown so prevalent in our country. The sturdy solid mores of our past, growing out of Christian idealistic philosophy, have been uprooted by the rationalistic relativity of pragmatism, and the moorings of our civilization have been swept away by the resulting flood of social and moral anarchy. This too has alarmed the leaders of the peace loving, conservative, rural minded Mennonites.

Mennonite Higher Education

The first permanent steps in the direction of Mennonite higher education were taken with the establishment of Bethel College in 1887. Goshen College was started in 1894. Bluffton College began in 1900. The Mennonites now began to work in earnest at the job of educating their own young people in this group of nonsecular, church-centered, denominational colleges. Soon others followed—Tabor College, Hesston College and Bible School, Freeman Junior College, Rosthern Junior College, Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Eastern Mennonite College. More recently still other schools have entered the field of Mennonite higher education. Among these newer schools are Grace Bible Institute, Mennonite Brethren Bible College, and Pacific Bible Institute. Two

Mennonite seminaries are at work in training Mennonite Christian workers and ministers. These are The Mennonite Biblical Seminary and the Goshen College Biblical Seminary. Twenty-eight Mennonite high schools and colleges were reported for the school year 1947-48. Others are being included in the report, not yet completed, on Mennonite higher education for 1948-49. The grand total of attendance reported for the year 1947-48 was 6,040.¹⁵

New Elementary School Movement

It was soon discovered that, however good Mennonite secondary education and higher education were, they were only a part of a larger educational program. They came too late in the life of the student, to save for personal Christianity, many young people who had already imbibed deeply of the secular spirit of the public schools. Therefore, in the last generation there has been a return to Mennonite parochial elementary schools. As far as this writer has been able to determine, the first of these schools was the Mennonite Private School, started at Dover, Delaware, in 1925. The Greenwood Mennonite School began at Greenwood, Delaware, in 1928. The Green Hill Mennonite Private School opened its doors first in 1933, at Cheswold, Delaware. The Esh School at Ronks, Pennsylvania, came into being in 1938. The Locust Grove Mennonite School began in 1939. This school is located near Smoketown, Pennsylvania. The Oak Grove or Zook School also opened in East Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1939. The New Danville Mennonite School, located on Route 4, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, started in 1940.

In 1941 there were three new schools. These were the Mt. Pleasant Mennonite School, Fentress, Virginia; the West Fallowfield Mennonite School, Atglen, Pennsylvania; and the Cross Roads School, Springs, Pennsylvania. The Warwick River School, Denbigh, Virginia, was started in 1942. The new school in 1943 was the Mt. Carmel School, Route 1, Harrisonburg, Virginia. Recently the idea of Mennonite elementary schools has spread more rapidly, for there were seven new schools in 1944. These were the Bethel Springs School, Culp, Arkansas; the Crown Hill Mennonite School, Marshallville, Ohio; the Fountain Nook School, Apple Creek, Ohio; the Johnstown Mennonite School, Route 2, Hollsopple, Pennsylvania, the Linville Hill Mennonite School, Route 1, Paradise, Pennsylvania; the Maple Grove School, Apple Creek, Ohio; and the Springdale School, Route 2, Waynesboro, Virginia.

¹⁵. *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, October 1948, pp. 242-255.

In September, 1945, the following elementary schools opened their doors for the first time: Deep Creek Mennonite School, Route 3, Portsmouth, Virginia; Elida Mennonite Christian Day School, Elida, Ohio; Franconia Mennonite Day School, Souderton, Pennsylvania; Kishacoquillas Valley Christian Day School, Belleville, Pennsylvania; Manor Mennonite School, Millersville, Pennsylvania; the Nampa Mennonite School, Nampa, Idaho.

A few less new schools began in 1946. These were: the Ephrata Mennonite Christian Day School, Route 3, Ephrata, Pennsylvania; Hillside Amish Mennonite School, Route 1, Meyersdale, Pennsylvania; Kempsville Mennonite School, Princess Anne, Virginia. These are all Christian day schools, as contrasted with the secular public schools. In most cases only the work of the eight grades of the elementary school is offered. However, ten schools also give a little high school work, for a few pupils.

In 1944-45 there was a total attendance of 835 in nineteen schools. Of this number, 44 were in high school and 791 were in the first eight grades. In 1945-46 there were twenty-five elementary schools, with an attendance of 1,107. The increase was largely in the elementary field, though there were 54 boys and girls registered in the high school.

Twenty-eight schools are included for the year 1946-47. Total attendance was considerably increased and reached 1,445. Of these, 1,349 were in the elementary field, and 96 were in high school.¹⁶

The 7 new schools included for the first time for the school year 1947-48 were located at various points in Douglas County, Illinois, in Somerset, Lebanon and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania, and in Wayne, Madison, and Stark Counties, Ohio. Total attendance reached 2,111, an increase of 666 over the previous year. This added attendance was in part due to new schools, but there also was increased attendance in the schools previously established.¹⁷

Tentative reports for the year 1948-49, indicate a total of 43 schools. The new schools are located in Indiana, Tennessee, Oregon, and Pennsylvania. Enrollment at the beginning of the school year is reported as 2,484, or an increase of over 373 over the year 1947-48.¹⁸

Conclusions

This revival of parochial Mennonite elementary schools is too recent to evaluate accurately. The movement was reborn a gener

16. *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, October, 1947, pp. 285-290.

17. *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, April, 1948, pp. 108-112.

18. *Mennonite Yearbook*, 1949, p. 64.

ation ago, but it was given added impetus by conditions arising out of World War II. For more than 400 years Mennonites have believed that war is due in part to national selfishness and personal greed. As a result of attending public schools, and thereby absorbing the typical militaristic nationalism of the country, during the recent war 53.6 percent of the American Mennonite boys disregarded Mennonite principles and accepted some form of military service, even though alternate service was readily available. This fact emphasized the urgent need of more careful teaching. Gradually, too, it has become evident that American secularism has surreptitiously permeated the attitude of many Mennonites to such a degree that the danger of non separation from the world is no longer sensed.

Mennonite education in general on all lines,—colleges, secondary schools, and elementary schools,—represents a spontaneous development, in answer to a felt but partially an unexpressed need. The philosophy of the church is that all education, to be Christian at all, must be Christian throughout. It must be God-centered instead of being secular, materialistic, pragmatic, relativistic. Christian perennialism is an expression we are learning to use. It represents an idea that is slowly permeating both the church and its schools. It is a conscious revival of the notion that has always represented the best in the thinking and living of the Mennonite church. This grows out of the answer of Jesus as to what is the greatest commandment. It is the teaching that belief and living are inseparable. One cannot love God and not love his fellowmen.

The Mennonite church today wishes to put first things first. It believes that right living grows out of right thinking. It believes that mere formalism, whether representing ritual, church practices, customs, or traditions, is worthless and may even be harmful, unless the appropriate spirit accompanies the form. It believes that morals and religion are inseparable. Being Christian means having Christian ideas to be sure, but just as urgently it means brotherly living. National selfishness is just as sinful as is personal selfishness. Religious forms are useless, unless they point toward the truth represented, and unless they enhance the spiritual living expressed by the theory proclaimed. The people of India are much more religious than are American people. They are more religious than are most Mennonites. But what the people of India have forgotten, is that formal religious ceremony, if it does not permeate life is mere superstition. It is making magic out of religion. It tries to force God to perform according to man's wishes, instead of being a means of helping men to be more God-like and spiritual.

In a few places Mennonite parochial schools may be reactionary. They may expect to perpetuate tradition and custom, rather than stressing the spirit for which the tradition stands. But education never can be put permanently into a strait jacket. Given patience and time, appropriate spiritual education is bound to permeate and leaven the life of both the individual and the community. This, however, is true only when the emotional tone behind the ideas calls for appropriate social living. Education can turn out to be miseducation. It is the writer's belief that the Mennonite parochial school is on the whole a healthful movement, looking toward perpetuating the best in the spiritual living of our forefathers.

MENNONITE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Disadvantages of the Parochial School System

By
Marvin Harder

One of the healthy aspects of education in America today is the presence of both public and parochial schools. The loss of either would seriously impair the standards of American education, and in the long run would be calamitous to the democratic process and the values that process is designed to achieve. While public and parochial schools have essentially identical aims, each possesses certain characteristics which make it better adapted to the attainment of specific ends. But what is more important than these differences in nature is the presence of two systems each of which may be measured against the other. Whenever contrasts become glaring the inevitable change must produce higher educational standards.

In a very general way, it may be said that the objective of education is the development of the "whole man". This is a cliché, but unlike most clichés it embodies the most advanced conclusion about the nature of human motivation. It means that man is more than the economic man that both the individualists and collectivists have assumed him to be.¹ It means that man is more than the political being some conservatives and liberals have thought him to be. Man is at once a moral man and a political man; he is an economic man and a social man. In short, he possesses a plurality of desires and interests; and if he is to make the maximum contribution to human welfare during his life span, all parts of his being must be nourished.

So the tasks of education are multiple: (1) It must provide for the moral growth of youth by inculcating an understanding of, and a reverence for the beliefs and attitudes which are religious; (2) It must provide for the healthy social development of the young by organizing the environment so as to create the maximum opportunities for learning how to live together; (3) It must provide the training which will enable them to find jobs, establish homes, and otherwise meet the economic demands of the future; (4) It must provide the citizenship education which will encourage intelligent participation in political activities, upon which participation the success of democracy depends.

Avoidance of Things Political

These are the objectives of any educational system that is

1. Charles E. Merriam, *Systematic Politics*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).

worthy of the name, and any discussion of the weaknesses of a system must center around them. It is the thesis of this paper that Mennonite education has neglected the political man; that this neglect is at present the Mennonite doctrine; and that this neglect is at present the most serious disadvantage of Mennonite parochial education.

Unfortunately, politics has been widely regarded as activity in which the good and devout could not engage without sacrificing their parochial principles. It has been looked upon as a necessary evil; and politicking as a task to be preferred by one's not so pious brother. This attitude has been current despite the fact that politics and the institutions of government it creates have been and are the only known large scale means of ordering human relations so that justice, freedom, equality, and human welfare might be secured. Since Aristotle men have generally realized that government and politics are a part of man's very nature. He is a social animal, a being who must live with his fellow beings. This necessity requires the ways he sought and found by which this living together can be made possible. Politics is the seeking; institutions are the ways which have been found.

While social control is accomplished in part by institutions other than government, and to a great extent by such non-institutional means as social pressures, it never-the-less remains true that social control could not be accomplished without the political processes and political institutions. The task of adjusting and coordinating must be given to an agency whose power transcends that of all other agencies in society.

It is only recently that man has devised the means of making government really successful. Until now government more often than not has given its citizens one value at the expense of another, has given men order without liberty, or liberty without equality. Now in the democratic process a means of government has been devised by which a diversity and multiplicity of ends can be achieved. It is a cooperative system; a way of living together. It is a system of government that can permit people to derive the benefits of both public and parochial education. It is a system of government that can achieve the unity necessary to the attainment of social ends, without the sacrifice of diversity in ideals and interests. It is the method of ordering human relations so that both Mennonites and Catholics can seek God in their own ways, without suffering persecution for their beliefs. Though imperfect, it is a practical effort to carry out the biblical injunctions which urge men to live in harmony with their fellow creatures.

Democracy is dependent upon a number of conditions—a minimum of economic security; an adequate means of communication—but more compulsive than these is the willingness of men to participate. Without economic security democracy could conceivably function for a time; but without citizen participation democracy would die.

Mennonite Educational Weaknesses

What evidences are there that Mennonite education has failed to educate its youth politically, to inculcate a sense of political responsibility, to orient their political thinking in keeping with the principles of Mennonite faith? There are several:

(1) The curriculums of Mennonite colleges are noticeably weak in political science. Some of the colleges have not offered courses in this field at all. Others only occasionally include a course or two. While it is recognized that practical exigencies preclude the offering of subjects in all fields, it never-the-less remains true that the education of the whole man is not complete without some attention to his political nature.

What is most serious about this failure is its indication that this neglect is a general one in Mennonite circles. Denominational schools other than Mennonite schools are often weak in this respect as well. But that hardly excuses. It merely accentuates the need.

(2) A second evidence is the embarrassing uncertainty among Mennonites themselves as to what jobs in government constitute the kind of jobs that they cannot hold without compromising their beliefs. Is engineering a train across the continent, a train which is carrying tanks and guns, an acceptable job, or must it be rejected for its too obvious association with the processes of militarism? Can post office positions be taken when the postal service is obviously the lifeline of continental communications, without which no military activity could well be carried on? These and similar questions arise for answers; and it is not enough to tell the Mennonite youth that the answers must be made by each individual alone. They need guides in their thinking, guides which can only be provided by systematic thinking on the part of Mennonite educators in the field of politics.

(3) A third evidence is to be found in the signal absence in Mennonite journals and magazines of controversial discussions about the problem of Mennonitism and politics. A reasoned and well-developed Mennonite position can hardly be forthcoming where most of the writers on this subject assume that Mennonites are required by their doctrine to take a negative position on the question of political participation.

A wealth of material on the conscientious objector in society

was and is being written. But politics is not all war; and there remain the intervals between wars when politics must go on.

The whole Mennonite philosophy of government seems hardly to have changed since it was first formulated in the days of the Schleithem Confession. This in spite of the fact that the role of government has changed markedly. Where government was formerly characterized by violence and its policeman-like functions, government is now a service agency. The logic that once led Mennonites to reject any participation in government has now lost much of its meaning.

This failure of Mennonite educators to take cognizance of these changes which require new political orientation is in great contrast to the dynamic way that the Mennonite Churches in North America rose to meet the challenge of World War II. Instead of letting matters take their course, the Mennonites organized to meet the war. In a sense they abandoned their past negative attitude, and by positive action accomplished an adjustment between the Mennonites and a state engaged in war. This adjustment made with a minimum of difficulty, is an impressive sign of the maturity of our American democracy and of the intelligence of the Mennonites as a minority group within her midst. But where is the organization for peace? Where is the attention to the problems of aiding democracy without losing the faith?

Non-Conformity—Theology or Sociology?

Is non-participation required by reasons of doctrine?

This is a difficult question to answer satisfactorily. The Mennonites have always been short on doctrine and long on practice. In the words of Professor Gross, Mennonitism is "not itself a fountainhead of moral law or divine and prudential enlightenment."² It is not a systematic theology. Rather Mennonitism is what Ernst Troeltsch calls an ascetic doctrine.³ It lays down a clear standard of moral behavior. It is primarily a means whereby conformity with the divine will may be achieved. It is characterized by its literalness, by its acceptance of all of the New Testament commandments as binding in both form and spirit. It is not rationalistic, spiritualistic, or ritualistic.

In such terms Mennonitism is described by its own theologians. The result is a description of the character rather than the substance of a faith. That is, what differentiates Mennonitism from

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2. Harold Gross, "Reflections of Kant and the Mennonites", *Mennonite Life*, (July, 1946) Vol. I, No. 2, p. 36.
 3. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931), Vol. II.

other faiths as a whole are these characteristics which do not prescribe articles of faith. What is believed today by Mennonites the world over seems to have been determined more by the "sense of the group" than by the writings of its elders.

This conforms with the individualism of early Anabaptism. Dosker⁴ writes that in the right of the individual to interpret the meaning of the scriptures and to derive his own understanding of them is the source of the individualism which was to have such a sweeping effect in the social, economic, and political world.

But, however, non-doctrinal Mennonitism may be, it lays down an absolute ethic for its people. Rules of conduct are believed to be right or wrong in themselves without any reference to their social consequences. Thus violence is never justified, regardless of what may be the situation out of which it arises. This absolute ethic has important political implications. It prevents the individual from assuming **all** political responsibility. It prevents objective reasoning, where the individual brings to a problem a priori conclusion.

But while all political responsibility cannot be accepted by one holding an absolute ethic, **most** political responsibility can be assumed. The overwhelming amount of governmental business transacted has little or no relation to violence. The sanctions which attend some legislation are not what give authority to these laws. It is our acceptance of the right of officers to enact bills into law that give them authority. It is the social pressure that all of us apply daily which give them force. The **real** sanctions are our attitudes; not violent measures. So when it is asserted that Government's use of violence must logically prevent the Mennonite from participating, it is setting forth a premise hardly based on the real nature of things. It is submitted that while the clear standards of behavior that is, Mennonitism, prevents some political participation by the Mennonite, it does not prevent participation in most governmental activities.

We have only touched on the subject of Mennonitism and political participation. Much needs to be said and written. As it now stands only one Mennonite scholar has written extensively about it. I refer to Professor Guy Hershberger, and particularly to his excellent **War, Peace, and Non-Resistance**. But there is another side, another conclusion, and I believe Mr. Hershberger would be the first to welcome a greater inquiry into the subject. It is the duty of the Educators to assume this role, and thereby

4. Henry E. Dosker, *The Dutch Anabaptists*, (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1921).

remedy one of the major omissions in its teaching.

Parochial Education and Sectarianism

We have dwelt overlong on the neglect of the political man. There is another disadvantage of Mennonite parochial education that should be mentioned briefly. It is the weakness that intensive sectarianism and division has caused. The Mennonite student is probably penalized at times by inadequate facilities, inadequate libraries, and inadequate financial aid. This must ever be so long as elaborate institutions like the modern school rests upon a very small constituency for its support. Perhaps greater unity among the Mennonite denominations would increase the support for its parochial system, and in the long run create even finer institutions than it now possesses.

In conclusion, it should be said that the older criticisms levied against parochial schools have lost their meaning, at least so far as the majority of them are concerned. Indeed, it is doubtful whether or not some of them ever had a really rational basis. When parochial schools were accused of "narrowness" in their approach to various problems, much of society shared their attitudes; and the "narrowness" was the fault of the whole as well as of the part. Even then, parochial as well as public schools led in the emancipation of the scholar from the taboos and prejudices common to the largest group. It is also significant that "narrowness" is often a term applied to teaching one disagrees with.

Then the older charge that higher parochial education was for future ministers primarily, and only for laymen incidentally, has long since lost its vitality. It is true that the original incentive to the establishments of colleges among the Mennonites was for the sake of providing training for future ministers. But we have long since learned to recognize the value of higher education for all. And now we only "incidentally" give ministers special training.

The problem of financing parochial schools, which is often used as an argument against them (its supporters asserting that it results in a double levy on the citizen, requiring him to support two where one could perform the task), is entirely specious. The financial problem is also a public school problem, since the regular sources of taxation hardly suffice these days, even where citizens have only one school to maintain. Then the financial difficulty must always be weighed against the larger gains; and the gains from parochial education far outweigh any consideration of costs.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that there is com-

petent opinion in support of the conclusion that parochial education ought to be publicly aided; and among others that there is nothing unconstitutional about such aid, regardless of whether it is wise or not. The latter judgment has already been embodied in a book entitled, **Religion and Education Under the Constitution** by **James O'Neill**. Professor O'Neill's arguments were subscribed to by no less an eminent authority on constitutional law than Edward S. Corwin. It may well be that in the interests of furthering differences in opinion—which is vital to the health of a democracy—some program of public aid will be devised.

Regardless, the fact that Mennonite schools are supported by their own people has a certain value in the fact that such dependence creates both a sense of responsibility to the aims of Mennonitism and tends to engender a certain vitality in the support which the contributors give to their institutions.

The Mennonites have an impressive record of several centuries of contributions to world progress. At the time of the Reformation they helped to sow the seeds of the liberties we now enjoy. Later they called attention to the horrors of war, and to the disparity between men's belief in peace and men's actions of violence. They have ever demonstrated that ideals are not so removed from the realm of possibility as to be incapable of serving as guides to action. It remains now for the Mennonite schools, and their educators, to determine how best Mennonites may continue to make contributions in keeping with the dynamism of the time.

As the educational system is evaluated, whether it be public or parochial, it is of paramount necessity that old loyalties be modified when they stand in the way of new requirements. This is always a difficult task, since the symbols of the old live past their usefulness. But it becomes a possible task when educators are able to measure programs and plans in the light of ultimate objectives, when teachers are able to remedy the disadvantages of the system in which they function.

THE GROWTH AND USE OF TOBACCO AMONG MENNONITES

By

J. Winfield Fretz

The primary reason for discussing the subject of tobacco among Mennonites is that the growth and use of tobacco is an aspect of Mennonite culture. By it some Mennonites earn their living, buy their homes, support their churches, send their sons and daughters to college. The use of tobacco is an aspect of custom reflecting individual and group values. As a student of sociology, I have an interest in the origin and development of Mennonite customs. How did the custom of tobacco growing and the use of tobacco among Mennonites become established?

We know from our study of society that custom has its roots in the folkways of people. Custom is the result of the frequent repetition of petty acts, often by great numbers acting in similar fashion or at least acting in the same way when faced with similar situations. Such repetitive action produces habit in the individual and custom in the group. The origin of customs is always lost in mystery, because when the action begins the men are never conscious of the historical importance of what they are doing. When they become conscious of the historical importance of their acts, the origin is already far behind. Nevertheless, an explanation of the growth of custom and the nature of changing attitudes toward a particular custom is highly significant, even though the exact origin of the custom never can be determined exactly.

A further reason for studying the subject in question is that it is a controversial social problem involving questions of Christian social ethics. Mennonites have always stressed disciplined living. The Mennonite ethic has traditionally emphasized essentials and discouraged the use of non-essentials. It has stressed self-denial rather than self-indulgence. It has put a premium on high thinking and plain living. It has taught that the true church is composed of the re-born believers in Christ. It has pointed out that discipleship means literal followership of Christ. It has warned unceasingly against the dangers of conformity to the ways of the world. In belief, Mennonites have taught that true Christians live at all times as though in the presence of the living God, for whose glory they were created.

How then can we explain this custom of using tobacco among Mennonites which is directly in opposition to all that is implied in disciplined living? A custom which manifests conformity to the world; a custom which embodies the hedonistic principle of

pleasure for the sake of pleasure; a custom that is a form of a vice. Vice may be defined as stimulation for stimulation's sake; a custom which is economically and physiologically wasteful; a custom which in no way seems to magnify the living Christ in a person nor enhance the glory of God. How then account for this contradiction between the statements and attitudes of official church bodies and the contrary practices by individual members of the groups? The answer may become more apparent as we proceed to examine the origin and the development of the growth and use of tobacco among Mennonites throughout history.

The Tobacco Industry In America

The tobacco industry is peculiarly American. The inhaling of smoke from burning herbs was a somewhat familiar practice in medieval Europe when explorers first brought tobacco back to Europe from America, but the large scale growth and use of tobacco in its various forms has had its chief impetus in America. Tobacco growing by the English colonists had begun as early as 1612 in Jamestown, Virginia. By 1618 over 20,000 pounds were exported annually. Through the intervening two and one-half centuries the tobacco industry grew steadily until today it is one of the major American industries. The present annual production of tobacco in America amounts to approximately 1½ billion pounds, of which about one-third is exported. Approximately 100 million pounds is consumed as chewing tobacco and almost 200 million pounds for cigars, while the rest is blended for use in cigarettes.¹ America ranks high in its per capita consumption of tobacco. In 1870 the per capita consumption in the United States was about three pounds; in 1900, five pounds; in 1917, seven and one-third pounds; in 1933, six pounds; and in 1945, seven pounds.² *Business Week* of February 9, 1946, reports, "For the sixth year in a row cigarette sales have hit a new high." Cigars, snuff, and chewing tobacco sales have fallen off while cigarette sales have steadily increased. The cigar industry's rate of growth from 1899-1937 was exactly zero while the cigarette industry during the same period grew 4,200 per cent.³ In 1937 the per capita consumption of cigarettes was 1,258. Eight years later, in 1945, the consumption for every man, woman, and child in the United States had leaped to 2,288. This means about two packages of twenty cigarettes each per person per week.

A major aspect of the tobacco industry is its advertising. There

1. E. B. Alderfer and H. E. Michl, *Economics of American Industry*: McGraw-Hill Book Co. New York; 1942, p.494.
2. Neil H. Borden, *Advertising in Our Economy*. Richard D. Irwin Inc. Chicago; 1945; p.53.
3. Alderfer and Michl, op. cit., p.506.

is almost a perfect correlation between the use of tobacco and the amount of money spent for advertising. In 1910 the advertising costs for a large part of the tobacco industry were \$13,000,000. In 1931 it was over \$75,000,000, or about six times what it was in 1910. Individual companies are paid to spend anywhere from six to thirty per cent of sales on advertising.

There is a difference of opinion among promoters of the cigarette industry regarding the future trend of tobacco consumption. Some think that the market for the product has been pretty well saturated. Others feel that a great undeveloped market lies in the fact that a large number of young people and women do not yet smoke, therefore advertising should be directed toward the younger age level and toward women. If cigarette smoking by women is a fashion, the custom can, of course, depart as quickly as it came in.

These general facts regarding the tobacco industry in America are significant for the background they furnish for the question of tobacco among Mennonites. A moment of careful reflection will make clear that these general trends significantly affected Mennonite customs and practices.

Tobacco Growing By Mennonites

The chief tobacco growing center among Mennonites is in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Smaller quantities are grown in nearby counties, such as Lebanon, Berks, Chester, and York, to which Mennonites have moved from Lancaster. The small Amish settlement in St. Mary's County, Maryland, also produces tobacco. No other Mennonite communities in the United States grow tobacco except in small quantities and in isolated areas. A region in Southern Ontario around Leamington where there are several Mennonite churches also produces tobacco, but not in as large quantities as it is produced in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

The growing of tobacco in Pennsylvania seems to have been begun about 1700 as a result of an economic policy encouraged by Penn, by which means tobacco was exported to England to pay for imports and thus avoid payment in money, which was scarce at that time.⁴ Up to the Civil War wheat was the main cash crop in southeastern Pennsylvania. Tobacco, however, replaced wheat as a cash crop during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on many Mennonite and Amish farms in Lancaster County. Before the commercial production of tobacco, an oats crop was generally grown in the four-

4. Charles Keith, Vol. I., *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia; Patterson & White Co., 1917, p.380.

year rotation program, but now oats is very seldom grown except among the Amish.

Lancaster County, according to the 1940 census of agriculture, produced more than ninety per cent of the tobacco grown in Pennsylvania. In 1929 the county produced 46,854,695 pounds; in 1939 38,011,532 pounds; and in 1947, county estimates revealed a tobacco acreage of 36,390 for a total of 54,133,300 pounds to lead all counties in the United States. Most of this was grown on the relatively fertile limestone lands in the northern part of the county, on which most of the Amish and Mennonite Farmers are located. As will be shown later in this paper, the Lancaster Conference of Old Mennonites has steadily developed a more sensitive conscience against the growth and use of tobacco among its members. It is encouraging the growth of substitute food crops, such as potatoes, tomatoes, peas, and fluid milk, as cash sources of income in place of tobacco. There is some evidence of a growing ethical concern on this question among Amish also, but it is not yet as pronounced as it is among Mennonites. Many of the Amish and Mennonites feel that tobacco is a good crop to raise because it keeps boys from being idle in the winter.

Not all Mennonites have changed their attitude with regard to the growth of tobacco. A reliable authority estimates that 75 per cent of the Mennonites in the area still produce tobacco. One minister recognized tobacco as a luxury, but defends the continued growth of it in the ground that it is one of the few luxury crops that can be produced with profit and which must be produced to meet the land values which sometimes run as high as \$1,000 an acre. The growth of tobacco, it is claimed, enables people to keep their boys from going to the cities and being spiritually impoverished and lost to the Mennonite Church; that keeps the family working together in a common enterprise, and that it provides sufficient income to make it unnecessary to accept government "hand-outs."

An interesting historical note is the fact that tobacco growth was attempted in Russia during the middle of the nineteenth century. In writing about agricultural experimentation, Walter Quiring in the July, 1948, issue of *Mennonite Life*, states that a large crop of tobacco was harvested in 1845 by 157 farmers in 32 Mennonite villages, but he says that the tobacco industry later died out as did the silk industry, presumably because people were uninterested in developing this commodity because other crops could be produced more profitably.

The growing of tobacco in Southern Ontario by Mennonites is of comparatively recent origin, because the congregations established there are composed entirely of immigrants who came from

Russia to Canada in the latter twenties. Even in this area tobacco production seems to be on the decline due to economic and moral reasons. Tele Island, eighteen miles directly south of Leamington, used to be a heavy tobacco producer, but now this crop is losing out to soya beans. A small General Conference congregation is established on the island.

By way of summary comment on the growth of tobacco among Mennonites we can say that it is grown largely in Eastern Pennsylvania, that the date of its origin as an agricultural crop among Mennonites is not exactly settled, that it became a really important crop in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, after its commercial development following the Civil War. According to recent trends maximum tobacco production among Mennonites may have reached its peak during the 1920's.

The Origin and Custom of Using Tobacco Among Mennonites

The earliest record pertaining to the use of tobacco among Mennonites found in the research for this paper was a reference in a Mennonite history book. In this volume, speaking of the Dutch Mennonites, it is stated that a certain set of twelve rules of discipline were reached each year before the congregations in Holland from 1639 to 1716. Rule 9 reads as follows: "No one should use tobacco unnecessarily because of a bad habit, whereby one wastes time and money and through smell and spitting offends those who do not use it. Yes, this evil can assume such proportions that persons, instead of reaching for the Bible or the Song book in order to be of mutual inspiration, will reach for the tobacco pipe." The author, a wealthy North German Mennonite, then adds a parenthetical note of apology stating that at the time the custom of smoking tobacco and wearing of wigs was introduced, the Papists and the Reformed Churches opposed these customs as tricks of the devil.⁵

This interesting quotation, if true, would mean that opposition to tobacco among the Mennonites already began in 1639, only 21 years after the first tobacco was exported from the United States to Europe. Evidently some Mennonites along with other Europeans took to the custom immediately. How widespread the custom became is not known, but if this admonition against its use was read annually for 77 years it is evident that the opposition lasted until the early part of the eighteenth century, and may have lasted even after that.

In reporting on the French Mennonites, C. Henry Smith refers

⁵. A. Brons, *Ursprung, Entwicklung und Schicksale der alt-evangelischen Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten*, 2nd. Edition; Norden, Diedr. Saltau; 1891, p.135.

to a conference of Essingen held in 1779 and attended by thirty-nine Amish ministers from nineteen Amish congregations in France and Southwestern Germany. At this conference smoking and snuffing of tobacco was prohibited. Smith states that reference to this subject is made to an earlier conference held in 1752 at which time the tobacco question was new.⁶

Another evidence of the European Mennonite attitude toward the use of tobacco is the reference among the Mennonites in Russia to its use among the German Baptists. Cornelius Krahn, in the October 2, 1947, **Mennonite Weekly Review**, in discussing the background of the Mennonite Brethren Church, refers to the close fellowship that some Russian Mennonite congregations had with the German Baptists. He states that probably nothing kept some Mennonites from affiliating with the Baptists except the traditional principle of non-resistance, which the Baptists did not share, and the fact that the Baptists used tobacco, to which the Mennonites objected.

In various European countries sporadic efforts of total abstinence movements appeared. Tobacco seems to have been condemned along with strong drink. On this point the Mennonite Brethren from the very beginning gave a very clear witness. Their origin is characterized by their interest in education, missions, temperance, and the promotion of Christianity with a warm pietistic emphasis. Their strong insistence upon personal conversion included abstinence from the use of tobacco and strong drink. This position is maintained to this day by the Mennonite Brethren group, with slight exception in North and South America.

In his thesis on the influence of American Mennonites on European Mennonites, Harley Stuckey points out how the early Russian Mennonites who came to America protested vigorously against the custom of smoking on the part of the Mennonites in this country.⁷ Paul Tschetter, one of the Russian Mennonites who journeyed to America in 1873 to explore this country as a possible place of settlement, makes several references in his diary to discoveries of the use of tobacco among American Mennonites. Here are a few of his comments on this subject. "There was one thing which I did not approve and that was the fact that some of the women smoked and chewed tobacco." What is

6. C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Ind. 1940, p.332.

7. Harley Stuckey, "Cultural Interaction Among the Mennonites, Since 1870." B. D. thesis, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, 1947; pp.40 ff.

worst among the Old Mennonites, is that even the ministers smoke."⁸

Tschetter was a Hutterite minister among those Hutterites who lived in villages rather than in communal Bruderhofs. His surprise at the use of tobacco among American Mennonites would lead one to assume that this was looked upon as an unfamiliar practice among Mennonites in Russia although, as indicated earlier in this paper, tobacco seems to have been grown among some Russian Mennonite farmers some twenty-one years before Tschetter made this trip to America in 1873. The editor of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* suggests that reference to the smoking of women was likely smoking with pipes. This point is further verified by my own mother who recalls well how as a little girl her grandmother used to sit on her backporch smoking her corncob pipe. My mother remembers quite a few more grandmothers smoking their favorite brands of tobacco. My great-grandmother's special brand was Miller's Smoking Tobacco. Its trademark was the picture of an Indian sitting on a stump smoking his pipe. Some women were known at the time as heavy smokers and carried their pipes and tobacco with them in public but my mother says that her grandmother never wanted anyone outside of the family to see or know that she smoked. This suggests that there must have been some sentiment against it among the Old Mennonites in the Deep Run congregation in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where she was a member. She lived from the early to the latter part of the nineteenth century, thus verifying Tschetter's observation made in 1873.

The sentiment against it, if any, must have been confined to women smokers because men in this congregation as well as other Franconia Conference congregations used tobacco freely. My mother recalls spittoons located at convenient places throughout the meeting house including as many as five behind the long pulpit. Chewing or smoking was looked upon by many as a demonstration of manhood. Attitudes and habits on this matter seem not to have changed greatly until after the turn of this century.⁹

Melvin Gingerich, says that the use of tobacco at one time was prevalent among the different Amish and Mennonite groups in Iowa, and refers to the fact that some people thought "the freedom of using tobacco and the moderate use of strong drink is part of the Amish principle."¹⁰ This would indicate that the use

8. "The Diary of Paul Tschetter," Translated by J. M. Hofer. *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. V, (1931), pp.123-124.

9. Personal Correspondence, My Mother, Mrs. J. C. Fretz, May 31, 1949.

10. Melvin Gingerich, *The Mennonites in Iowa*, Iowa City, Iowa; The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1939, Page 260.

of tobacco among the Amish was a rather deep seated tradition. How far back the practice goes is not known, but Gingerich reports that the use of tobacco among the men of the Amish church had become almost universal, the ministers included. He reports that Jacob Swartzendruber, a Mennonite minister who was campaigning against the use of tobacco, said that some of the ministers say "they cannot preach without a chew of tobacco in their mouths." This would indicate that the custom was widespread and it probably developed to its maximum along the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Gingerich states that at the turn of the century pipe smoking by women members was not unknown among the Iowa Mennonites. We conclude that the use of tobacco by men and women among Mennonites in America was a familiar practice in the last half of the nineteenth century. Among the older Russian Mennonites who came to America there are still a considerable number of men who smoke cigars.

There is ample evidence that there was a strong minority sentiment against the use of tobacco among American Mennonites for the past seventy-five years. This controversy was occasionally aired in the **Herald of Truth** through correspondence and editorials. In September, 1871, the **Herald of Truth** carried an article on tobacco by Daniel Brenneman in which he said "who can go into the house of worship and find in almost every nook and corner the filthy stains and noisome stench of tobacco as may be found in some places and like justifying the habit, and feel that those do wrong who protest against it?" John F. Funk, the widely known editor of the **Herald of Truth**, seems to have taken a moderate position during the heat of the controversy, hoping not to offend those on either side. In the June, 1873, issue of the **Herald** he makes the following statement: "We do not want to censor anyone for using it. . . , many of our people have used it for a long time. . . , and we will only kindly ask them to use it moderately. . . , for sometimes I have seen persons in the meetings spit on the floor until a pool stood there, so that a person could hardly kneel in prayer on account of it."

In the March, 1878, issue of the **Herald** the editor again comments on this question:

"We stand between fires, and are not prepared to fully endorse either side. . . Here among our American Mennonites the use of tobacco prevails to a very large extent: Some are so wedded to the habit that they are offended even if anyone speaks against it; some have declared that they would no longer patronize the paper if we should continue articles of this kind. . . .

Among our Russian Mennonite brethren, there are those who stand on the contrary side of this question. They do not use it in any way; they have made it a rule of their church that no member of the church shall be allowed to use it; and it is an offense to them when they see anyone use it; they even go so far that they maintain that a truly converted child of God cannot use it; and there are even among our American Mennonites members here and there who hold these same views. . . .

Now since most of the articles which we have received on this were written by persons who were opposed to the use of tobacco, and from the standpoint that no persons who use tobacco can be Christian, we have rejected them, and we have been severely censured by those who use it, for saying anything which they thought they had a right to do, while on the other hand our anti-tobacco friends have censured us as cowardly and afraid to speak our views."¹¹

The growing attitude against the use of tobacco since the turn of the century is especially noticeable in some of the Old Mennonite conferences where the practice has had rather deep roots. For instance from the Virginia Mennonite Conference minutes for October, 1894, we quote: "Whereas, there is so much chewing tobacco and spitting on the floor in the house of God in time of service, is it not a duty for our members as well as the ministers, to speak and protest against such a filthy habit as well as all other bad habits? Decided in the affirmative."

Ten years later the following question came up in the Virginia Conference. "As it is becoming a common practice with men and boys at some of our places of worship to spend much of their time just outside of the church doors, smoking—both during the time of worship and immediately afterward!—What does the conference recommend as being the proper way to bring about a discontinuance of the habit? RESOLVED, That parents instruct their children at home, and instead of sending them to service, take them and keep them with them as much as possible; also, that all the members do what they can to avoid the trouble."

In 1912 this conference raised the question as to whether it should not take some action against tobacco culture among its

¹¹. Quoted by Stucky, *op. cit.*, p.44.

Note: The reference to the Russian Mennonites who do not allow their members to use tobacco must refer chiefly to the Mennonite Brethren and closely related groups. It is known that the General Conference Mennonites had quite a few members who used tobacco at the time of their coming to America.

members before it becomes firmly established in its district. The conference decided to strongly oppose the raising of tobacco on all lands under its members' control. In 1926 the conference suggested ways and means of discouraging and overcoming the cigarette habit among its members. The following reasons were given why Christians should abstain from the use of tobacco:

1. It is harmful in its effects upon one's physical, moral, and spiritual being.
2. It is an expensive habit.
3. It is a selfish habit.
4. It is a filthy habit.
5. It is an offensive habit.
6. It is an unnecessary habit.
7. It violates Bible principles and cannot be used to the glory of God.

On all these grounds conference members were urged to teach against it in homes and Sunday schools, ministers were urged to preach against it, old members were urged "to give it up by the grace of God," and applicants for membership were urged to "put it off as a remnant of the old life." In the constitution and by-laws of the Virginia Conference, which were revised in 1941, Article VIII reads as follows:

"The use of tobacco in any form is not only a filthy habit, but its use results in physical injury and is scripturally inconsistent. Its use is thereby discouraged by both precept and example. Its use shall disqualify any member from ordination. No one shall be received into church fellowship who does not faithfully promise to do all in his power to discontinue its use. (Cor. 10:31, II Cor. 7:1, I John 3:3.)"

Thus we have an illustration in one Old Mennonite district conference of a growing sentiment against the use of tobacco within the last fifty years in the very state which gave birth to the whole of American tobacco culture 300 years earlier. Within a half century there was a shift from a widespread practice of smoking and chewing to one of almost total prohibition. The minority that vigorously opposed the use of tobacco seems thru the years to have grown into a majority. The custom of using tobacco is now pretty generally frowned upon by all Mennonite groups, yet it is still tolerated in most groups. Even the Amish,

in areas where they do not grow it, shows signs of a declining use of it.¹²

The Franconia Conference in Eastern Pennsylvania strongly testified against the habit of cigarette smoking in 1926, and urged that the congregations be admonished to teach against this flagrant evil. This conference does not make the use of tobacco a test of membership but there has been a growing concern about the increasing use of tobacco among its members. In May, 1947, this conference officially condemned the use of tobacco as unworthy of a Christian and protested against its use by any of its members in any form. The conference declared that henceforth no one should be considered for the ministry who is addicted to its use. This is a definite growth in the direction of abstinence when one recalls that in this conference during the latter part of the nineteenth century it was still not uncommon for spittoons to be located behind pulpits, which were used periodically throughout the worship service by one or several ministers on the pulpit bench.

In the Lancaster Old Mennonite Conference, the center of the tobacco growing industry among Mennonites, there is also a growing sentiment against the use and growth of tobacco. The conference acted twice within the last ten years on this point, once in protest against the use of tobacco in various forms, and again against its production and distribution. As indicated by the figures quoted earlier, production of tobacco has gradually declined in favor of other more acceptable products. The use of tobacco also is constantly being discouraged. One bishop informed me that he had been thinking of starting a total abstinence campaign on this question.

There is, however, another view on this question in this conference. It is expressed by one minister, who says that the tobacco raised in Lancaster County is mostly for cigars, thus, never enters a cigarette and therefore is not quite as objectionable. He states that he does not encourage any one to use it nor does he want his boys to use it. However, he contends that the growth of it is no different in character than the growth of grapes for wine nor grain and surplus potatoes used for making liquor. He classifies tobacco as a luxury but says that even turkeys raised by Iowa Mennonites and peppermint raised by northern Indiana

12. *Note:* Many of the Old Order Amish and Mennonite groups in early days had a conscience against the keeping of church records. For this reason it is impossible to examine certain old congregational records for information on this and other points. The establishment of general conferences is also of rather recent date, and for that reason earlier conference records cannot be checked.

Mennonites would come in the same category. The strongest action by any Mennonite groups against tobacco growth and use was taken by the Leamington, Ontario, Mennonite Brethren Church in 1948 when it made the following official statement:

"We, the Mennonite Brethren Church of Leamington, Ontario, humble ourselves before God that in the past we have not taken a definite position toward the question of tobacco. Though we did not permit the use of tobacco except for agricultural purposes we did not take a position when our members were engaged in tobacco raising. Thereby, we have weakened our position toward the sin of the use of tobacco and have harmed our testimony. We have also caused offense in the church of Christ and have caused confusion of conscience. Therefore, we confess our sin and pray the Lord for forgiveness. As to the future, we will uphold the resolution which our Canadian Conference passed in July of this year (1948) concerning the tobacco question.

The Canadian Conference action states:

"This question has already been answered (by) in the history of the Mennonite Brethren Church and we want to impress our churches with the fact that we neither deal in tobacco (selling) nor smoke it, chew or raise same."¹³

It is clear from these official conference statements that the Mennonite Brethren think of the use of tobacco as more than a bad habit that should be practiced moderately and at the option of the individual. Among them it is considered a moral matter which if violated is sin. In most Mennonite Brethren communities the use of tobacco is made a test of membership. Several other Mennonite groups take similar positions on this point; among them are the Church of God in Christ Mennonites, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, and the Kleine Gemeinde.

Among the General Conference congregations there is a great variation of attitudes on the question of tobacco. In no case do I know a General Conference congregation that makes this a test of membership. The practice of smoking cigars was found in eastern and western congregations among older men in past generations. This is now increasingly less common. It seems as though the Temperance Movement had its influence on all Mennonite groups where tobacco was being used. In this movement tobacco was condemned along with liquor. Generally smoking and drinking were condemned as twin evils without serious distinction.

There is no question that the practice of cigarette smoking

¹³. *Zionsbote*, December 15, 1948.

has rapidly increased in the last three decades. This is especially true in urbanized and industrialized areas and among churches that exercise little or no conference or congregational discipline. More and more young men who work in shops, offices, and factories, and young people who attend public schools and colleges where smoking is quite common, also develop the habit. All Mennonite sponsored schools and colleges discourage the use of tobacco but not all of them prohibit the students from smoking if done off the campus. Since the repeal of prohibition and the intensive advertising of cigarettes there seems to be a noticeable increase in the number of Mennonites who use tobacco freely. Among many of the Mennonite immigrants to the United States and Canada after World War I, one finds a high percentage of the men smoking. Among the Old Colony men in Mexico, one observes the frequent use which is made of tobacco. It would not seem an exaggeration to say that over fifty per cent of the men smoke.

A General Conference minister, who within the last two years visited over thirty churches in the General Conference, declared that throughout the conference smoking had gotten a strong hold. In this man's own congregation out of 180 men about 60 use tobacco. While he is waging a vigorous campaign against its use he concludes that he is just about able to hold his own. For every man who gives up the habit there seems to be another taking it up.

The cost of the tobacco habit to the church may be high if one considers how much church members spend for such a non-essential. A minister after careful study of the problem estimated that the men in his own church who use tobacco spend approximately \$5,000 a year. If this were multiplied by the number of congregations where tobacco is used it is evident that the figures would run into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Conclusion

As a result of this brief attempt at surveying the custom of growing and using tobacco among Mennonites one may reach the following tentative conclusions.

1. By and large, the custom of using tobacco among older Mennonite groups in Europe and America seems to have been similar to the customs of society in general on this point. The custom was at first seemingly opposed, then gradually accepted and finally adopted in a rather widespread fashion. Traditionally, there seems to have been no general conscience against its use.

2. Such groups as the Mennonite Brethren, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, the Kleine Gemeinde, the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, and the Church of God in Christ Mennonite seems

to have had a clear and consistent witness against this custom from their origin up to this time.

3. In recent decades there is evidence of a growing conscience against the production and use of tobacco among the Old Mennonites, the Conservative Amish, and in some cases among the Old Order Amish.

4. An increase in the use of tobacco, especially cigarette smoking, is evident in General Conference and certain Old Mennonite churches where the subject is not considered a test of a church membership or a matter for discipline.

5. The use of tobacco among Mennonites is definitely related to fashions and fads. Those who have adopted the custom have done so in imitation of those with whom they associated, desiring to conform to the prevailing pattern of social behavior. Those who adopt the cigarette smoking habit are the same ones who are freely adopting changes in society generally. It is an aspect of secularization in that it is a demonstration of individuals accepting for their standards of value and patterns of behavior criteria from secular society rather than from religious faith or the Scriptures. The seeming contradiction between the ethical and moral idealism of the Mennonites on the one hand and the custom of using tobacco on the other is explained in a large measure, by the subtle secularization process going on in Mennonite groups.

PROBLEMS OF A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR IN THE LEGAL PRACTICE

By
Elvin Souder

A little boy, on the occasion of his first visit to the zoo, stood dumbfounded before the cage of a giraffe. After the most careful scrutiny, he pronounced an epic opinion: "There ain't no such animal!"

A similar retort may suggest itself to those who contemplate a Conscientious Objector in the practice of law. Such a reception is scarcely surprising, for I suspect a widespread feeling still persists among Mennonites that it is difficult, if not impossible, for a person to follow out Christian principles in the practice of law. But to dismiss the question so blithely is both unfair and unfortunate. It is unfair because of all that contradicts such an opinion. It is unfortunate because this fiction will tend to become fact if young men enter the field of law with such preconceived ideas. The truth of the matter is, as I hope this paper will bring out, that basically the Conscientious Objector faces no greater problems of an ethical nature in the legal practice than he would in the field of business. The problems may be of a somewhat different nature, but I am inclined to think that there is little difference in principle.

This paper attempts to set forth some of those problems confronting a Conscientious Objector, or any Christian for that matter, in the practice of law. Lawyers work in the field of human relations and so the lawyer who would be Christian must bring some of the basic Christian truths "down to earth" where they may touch that area of human activity in which so much of life is lived and so much of human energy expended.

As to the contents of this paper, it would be presumptuous to claim that it contains an answer to all the problems of a Conscientious Objector in the practice of law. Though some of the answers are given, there are others where I can do little more than state the problem and stimulate a questioning attitude towards the problem generally. Briefly, in outline form, this is how the paper proceeds to consider the subject:

- I. First, we shall look at the **actual practice of law** and briefly inquire into what make up the day-to-day tasks or routine of a lawyer's existence.
- II. Secondly, we shall consider the **nature and definition of law** itself to see whether there is anything basically and fundamentally inconsistent between a Mennonite, nonresistant,

second-mile religion and the practice of law by virtue of the very nature of law itself.

III. Thirdly, let us examine more closely the **specific questions** which are commonly asked by those who seek to know whether a person can practice Christianity while practicing law—such as:

1. How can you justify defending a criminal or bad cause?
2. Should a Mennonite Christian use legal process in order to enforce an individual right recognized by the law of the State?
3. Is there a distinction in Christian principle between **instituting** a suit and **defending** a suit?
4. Is a lawyer, as an officer of the court, an official of the state so as to make him a part of the law enforcement system based ultimately on force?
5. Can a lawyer as a Christian engage in any form of litigation, either civil or criminal, in our state or federal courts?
6. Can a lawyer, consistent with Christian practice, advise clients as to legal relationships, rights, duties, and consequences flowing therefrom, when those clients are engaged in activities which the lawyer himself may consider un-Christian?
7. Can a Mennonite, non-resistant, second-mile Christian, consistently with his position, accept a judiciary position, i.e. as judge in a country, state or federal court?

Practice of The Law - Its Nature

It might be simpler, first, to say what the practice of law is not. For most lawyers law practice is not court battles; it is not hotly contested cases; it is not trials before judges; nor defending criminals; nor sharp cross-examination and all that one ordinarily associates with the court room scene. A more accurate picture of a lawyer's day-to-day existence would reveal much time spent in planning and drafting—letters, contracts, wills, deeds, leases, partnership agreements, articles of incorporation, trusts, preparing and filing tax returns, inventories, appraisements, accounts in decedents' estates, charters for non-profit corporations, and other papers—so as to avoid or minimize the possibility of conflict. There are memories, such as come to every lawyer, of routine consultations, settlements, wills made at the point of death, of the settlement of estates after death.

It is unfortunate that there is such a widespread misconception of the every day routine of a lawyer since in the past much of the judgment aimed at the profession has been based upon the role the lawyer has played in litigation and lawsuits. By far the

large part of the human issues and controversies which arise in business and in life, which have to be worked out, never come to the courts or agencies at all, but are "administered" "around the table" in conference rooms, usually in lawyers' offices. In countless instances the parties learn of the law applicable to them, by their own counsel or by the discussions with adversary counsel, and any opposing versions of the facts are likewise brought home to them in unsworn "yea" and "nay" statements. The "final court" is quite often a conference room where amicable and peaceful settlements are reached. Such conferences are no place for sharpness, cunning, or adroitness in non-disclosure. Men and women can go out from the lawyers' offices with a rankling sense of wrong or they can go out with a realization that they have been in the presence of men of good will, understanding, innate fairness, and a devotion to Christian principle.

When rightly viewed, the legal practice may hold forth a challenging opportunity for a lawyer to apply the technique of Christian love to conflict situations and the widely varied legal problems which daily present themselves. A few concrete examples will illustrate the common day-to-day situations and legal problems with which a lawyer is constantly confronted. Here are a husband and wife. Should they hold title to their real estate in both their names? Should they each have a will? Can the building contractor reduce his income tax liability by making his sons partners with him in the business? Do the provisions of the Housing and Rent Act of 1949 apply to a farm which the owner wishes to rent out? What legal proceedings must the widow, an income beneficiary of a trust, take in order to use part of the principal of the trust set up for her care and maintenance? Does the Zoning Ordinance permit the Joneses to convert their house into a two-family dwelling? What are the adoption laws which will affect this childless couple seeking to adopt a child? Can the church organize a nonprofit cemetery corporation to exist as a legal entity separate and distinct from the church? What of the possibility of creating a nonprofit organization for the purpose of receiving contributions for ministers and C. P. S. men in order to get the benefit of the charitable deduction provisions of the Federal Income Tax Law since gifts to individuals, no matter how deserving, may not be taken as a charitable deduction? Must this client register the name of his business if he does not trade under his own name? What steps must be taken to have a guardian appointed for a weak-minded person who has been committed to a mental institution?

These are only a very few of the multitude of examples which serve to illustrate the kind of matters which lawyers deal with from day to day. I see no reason why a lawyer cannot be just as

Christian in working out these matters as can the farmer in raising corn or pigs or operating a dairy farm. The situations call for no techniques or practices inconsistent with the Christian principle of love.

Nature And Definition of Law

We turn to a consideration of the very basic problem of whether there is anything fundamentally inconsistent between Menonite, non-resistant religion, and the practice of law by virtue of the very nature of law itself.

Of the many definitions of the Law, one which to me seems readily understandable and relatively simple is the one which states that the law of the state or of any organized body of men is composed of the rules which the courts, that is the judicial organs of that body, lay down for the determination of legal rights and duties. The State exists for the protection and forwarding of human interests as society sees them, mainly through the medium of rights and duties. To determine in actual life, what are the rights and duties of the State and of its citizens, the State needs and establishes judicial organs, the judges. To determine rights and duties, the judges settle what facts exist, and also lay down rules according to which they deduce legal consequence from facts. These rules are the law. The important truth to be recognized is that the law of a state or other organized body is not an ideal, but something which actually exists. It is not that which is in accordance with religion, or nature, or morality; it is not that which ought to be, but that which is.

I do not think it follows, however, that a Christian cannot engage in the practice of law simply because the laws concerning which he advises clients may be designed for sinful society and may actually, in some cases, not be in accordance with Christian principle. Professor Hershberger, in his "War, Peace and Nonresistance" emphasizes that the nonresistant Christian should have an obedient and respectful attitude toward the state and its rules, and, in fact, he states that nonresistant Christians should be the most law-abiding citizens of the state. It is becoming increasingly difficult to know how to conduct oneself as a law-abiding citizen in certain areas of human activity without the benefit of legal counsel. Even in so simple a matter as the filing of an income tax return, a duty imposed by the government on practically every individual, there frequently arises a problem which may require legal advice for its determination. Only by acquiring a broad and comprehensive knowledge of the law can an attorney equip himself adequately to be of assistance to those in need of legal counsel. The acquiring of that legal competence, however, does not necessarily mean that the lawyer is to be-

come an official for the enforcement of the legal rights and duties which make up the body of the Law. As with any other science, the question which the Christian faces is the use to which he puts his knowledge in the particular field. In other words there is nothing in the very nature of law itself which makes the practice of law inconsistent with nonresistant, second-mile Christian religion, but if with the tools of his profession the lawyer sets in motion forces which are more concerned with the protection and winning of legal rights than with the application of Christian principle to any given life situation, then law practice can perhaps become a stumbling-block to right Christian living.

Can A Christian In The Practice of Law Defend A Bad Cause?

This or a similar question is frequently asked of lawyers. How can you defend a man when you know he is guilty? The question, to begin with, is misleading and somewhat unfair. As asked, the answer must quite obviously be no. The Christian can no more defend a bad cause than he can take part or be an active participant in the bad cause itself. But there is a vast difference between concealing important vital information which would reveal the truth of a matter, and representing a man involved in a bad cause so as to bring about his rehabilitation and even conversion. Of course, you would not plead Not Guilty for a man you knew to be guilty. But you might represent him on a plea of Guilty before the Court and, depending upon the circumstances, pray the mercy of the court and urge leniency of sentence.

A lawyer is sometimes faced with the situation of a client whose guilt or innocence of the commission of a crime may be a matter of very serious and honest doubt. Representation of such a client would seem to create no real ethical problem unless it be the basic problem of whether a Christian should defend at all against an unjust and unwarranted criminal charge brought against him. I doubt whether most Mennonites would go that far. In my experience in legal practice, I have noticed that it happens more often than might be suspected that unjust charges are laid at an individual's door with possible serious personal consequences if proper defense measures are not taken. On this question of self-defense, a word should perhaps be said concerning the Apostle Paul's defenses before the Roman courts and other of the apostles whose civil rights stood them in good stead on occasions. However, in their book, "Before You Decide", Charles and Hoover emphasize that in their case the apostles were not primarily engaged in defending themselves or their rights, but were contending for the liberty of the Gospel. They add: "We must be ever cautious about any form of self-defense

lest we spoil the reflection of His image in us." They point out also that we should first remember the example of Jesus "Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

Christians And The Use of Legal Process In Enforcing Rights And Duties

Here we come face to face with probably the most basic and searching problem which the Christian faces in the practice of law. Certainly to the nonresistant Mennonite it raises the question of when he can, consistent with his peace position, resort to legal process. Put another way, it is a question of when the use of legal process becomes inconsistent with the way of love in human relationships. Does the Christian way of love permit one Mennonite brother to take a mortgage from another and to have the same recorded in the Court House as a lien and charge against his brother's property? Although a long way off from the Sheriff's sale, it is, nevertheless, the first step along that road.

Perhaps the test should be the spirit which the legal step of procedure produces in the other party to the transaction. As Christians, I think we are in agreement that we would not, certainly as a general rule, institute a lawsuit in order to enforce our legal rights. As Christians our emphasis is not **primarily** on rights and duties of men towards one another, but rather on creating Christian fellowship and the love relationship between individuals. In bringing suit, ill-will and bitter feeling so often result. If, then, as Christians we would not sue to get our "just dues", what of the lawyer who is asked by a client to represent him in a suit which he wishes to bring? It seems to me that if we conclude the Christian should not, as a general rule, sue to enforce a legal right, we must by the same token also conclude that the Christian lawyer must be carefully discriminating in the representation of clients in bringing suit.

Suppose, on the other hand, a civil suit is brought against me to collect an unjust claim, let us say, or to recover damages for injuries sustained in an automobile accident for which I was in no wise at fault. Should I defend myself against the possibility of a substantial, unjust verdict? Here, I think, the answer must rest with each individual case. There can be no broad generalization. There may be situations where you might conclude it altogether Christian to defend and still others where you would be constrained to take no active measures in your defense at all. And the Christian lawyer asked to represent a client who is

a defendant in legal proceedings should view the problem in like manner.

On this question of lawsuits we find some help by turning to the early church in the city of Corinth in Greece, where, as among some Christians in our day, disagreements arose among themselves. Instead of settling their differences peaceably, they hailed each other before the city courts. When the Apostle Paul learned what they were doing, he wrote them a letter as follows: "Dare any of you, having a matter against his neighbor, go to law before the unrighteous . . . it is altogether a defect in you that ye have lawsuits one with another. Why not rather take wrong; Why not rather be defrauded?"

A word of caution should be inserted here against any generalization concerning all lawsuits. It not frequently happens that litigation does not lead to the strained relations and feelings one normally finds accompanying lawsuits. Friendly or so-called amicable actions are sometimes brought in order to get a determination of a question of law heretofore undecided by the courts. Much tax litigation, as in the field of federal income, gift, and estate taxation, is often free of the rancor and bitterness which accompanies the lawsuit between two individuals disputing a property claim. Then too, sometimes the contending parties on opposite sides of a legal principle, are legal entities such as corporations where the issue involved is almost completely divorced from personalities, and hence no ill or bad feeling is present. The lawsuit in such an instance may be more in the nature of an administrative proceeding in order to determine what rule shall govern the particular situation. There is also the example of the lawsuit which sometimes arises between individuals involved in an automobile collision. Normally, where the parties are insured, any litigation which results is handled entirely by the insurance carrier, at least so far as the defendant in the proceedings is concerned and since any liability imposed is covered by insurance there is less likelihood for the ill-will and bad feeling generally associated with lawsuits to arise.

The one point at which a lawyer who would be Christian must be eternally vigilant, it seems to me, is in the realization that the purpose of law as conceived by society is to determine legal rights and duties. The New Testament ethic, however, is not so much concerned about demanding rights of a neighbor, but rather that the Christian win the love and friendship of his neighbor. This has been well stated by Charles and Hoover in "Before You Decide" (p. 57):

"The New Testament teaches that the Christian should not insist on getting his rights at the expense of his

brother's welfare. At times it may be necessary to surrender one's claim to justice rather than violate the law of love. But love is always ready to give and forgive for the sake of others. If Christ had insisted on getting justice there would never have been a cross nor a gospel story. Giving love and not demanding justice, is the Christian way of winning men to Christ. This undoubtedly is what Paul had in mind when he said, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head . . . overcome evil with good.' Love alone can conquer the hearts of men for Christ."

Is The Lawyer An Official Of The State?

Upon taking his oath or affirmation of office, a lawyer is reminded that in so doing he becomes in effect an officer of the court. The nomenclature may be slightly misleading. He is not an officer in the sense that he is called upon to enforce the laws as a prosecuting attorney, or district attorney, or that he is to perform any judicial function. Rather, he is called upon at all times, in all matters in which he appears before the court, to inform the court in a forthright, truthful, and frank manner of all things thereunto appertaining which will make justice in the matter prevail. It would seem to me that there is nothing here which would cause the Christian to conclude that he has compromised his position as a nonresistant Christian by becoming an officer of the court in that sense. Certainly in any matter in which he might appear before the court, as litigant or otherwise, the lawyer's Christian duty is nothing less than the complete and uncompromising truth.

I think it is important to get the distinction that actually the practice of law is not participation in a state function. Judges and district attorneys, it is true, do perform a state function—but not lawyers. They are not paid by the state and, in fact, frequently represent clients whose interests are adverse to the state. Certainly attorneys representing Conscientious Objectors currently prosecuted in our federal courts can hardly be said to be in the performance of a state function.

Should The Christian Lawyer Advise A Client Whose Activities He Considers Unchristian?

Twice in my practice I have had occasion to handle the preparation of all the legal papers incident to the transfer of a tobacco vending business. One of the purchasers operated his business largely through cigarette vending machines which I am sure were situated in places of questionable character insofar as the forms of entertainment provided there. I have never seen either

place of business and my only connection with the transaction was the bringing about of a new legal relationship by completing the transfer and conveyance from one party to another. Was I confronted there with the same moral problem which faces the Mennonite who asks whether or not he should grow tobacco?

On another occasion recently I represented a staunch Catholic husband, divorced by his wife, in the working out of a property settlement and agreement for the custody of their two children. What should have been my position relative to this insistence that the wife agree to send the children to Catholic parochial school?

Fortunately, not all the problems which present themselves are that difficult of solution. When an inquirer seeks your legal opinion concerning the availability of a certain site, under the zoning ordinance of a borough, for a club holding a liquor license, there can be only one answer—you choose not to represent the client. It is, however, the in-between cases which pose the problems; and the answers are not always easy to find.

Should A Mennonite Accept A Position As Judge?

This poses a difficult question and to generalize in the way of an answer is unsatisfactory. However, to the extent that generalization is possible, the answer is probably "No". A judge often decides against his own opinion of right and wrong, and properly so from the point of view of organized society and the law of that society. For instance, he does so when he is compelled by the precise words of a statute. How familiar to us Mennonites have become the words of the Federal judges who, in pronouncing sentence on a Conscientious Objector to a year and a day in federal prison, state that in spite of whatever sympathies they might have for the defendant and their desire to be lenient towards him, yet the law leaves them no other alternative than to find the defendant guilty and sentence him.

Let us see how a judge's mind works and, in fact, must work under our system of law and society, when he has to pass on the question of whether an act was right or wrong, and we will suppose his own opinion to be that it was wrong. He will say to himself: "Is there any statute, or judicial precedent, or consensus of opinion in the dicta of judges which declares that the act in question may be done? If there is, however foolish and wicked such legislation appears to me, I must follow the statute, and abstain from deciding that the act was wrong."

In effect, and in one sense, a judge gives up his sense of individual moral and ethical judgment in deciding upon a course of action. Loyalty to the state becomes supreme. The New Testament does not teach unconditional obedience to the state. When

the state asks us to do something which is contrary to the commands of God, then we must obey God, even if it means disobedience to the government. We owe supreme loyalty to God.

The Second Mile In The Legal Practice

Although it may seem an oversimplification of the general problem posed by this paper, nevertheless, to a very large degree, it seems to me, the answer to most of the problems faced by a Conscientious Objector in the legal practice can be answered in much the same way that ethical Christian problems are answered by anyone. The central focus must always be on what is the Christian course of action for this situation now before me. Every matter coming into a law office involves a set of human relationships and with it the problem of how Christ would have me carry through that piece of business to termination. This is not to say that the problem is easily solved, but the principles we must follow are nevertheless clear. After all, though in a sense we are citizens of two worlds, there should be no strict line of demarcation between our secular and our religious lives. They are both lived in the same world; and the economic activities of men are not alternatives to the life of religion so that people must make the choice between them, nor need they be hindrances to the cause of religion. Rather may they be essential ways of doing God's will and cooperating in his creative purpose. This calls for a well-rounded religion rather than a lop-sided religion. There is a seven-day a week religion and there is a one-day-a-week religion which talks of service on Sundays and only of profits on the other six days of the week. Something is lacking in the stock story of many a respected business man which frequently dwells on the fact that he is a regular communicant of the church and on what he does for the community by sitting on the school board, or on a civic organization, or by giving to its philanthropies. This is solely an account of his activities **outside** the business. To be sure, these are important but the main question is: What does he do **in** his business?

The economical pressure or power which often times a business man can and does exercise may be even more devastating than legal process or litigation which one person might institute against another. Does the man in business share his profits with those employees whose labor helped produce them? Is his labor policy a Christian one? Does he ever use tactics in selling which will force a competitor to the walls? Is his advertising fair and honest, or is it misleading? When goods are scarce, or rationed, does he sell on the black market? Does he use his economic power as a club over others whom he seeks to control?

There is scarcely anyone who would take issue with the state-

ment that in legal practice or in the business world, we should strive to use our profession as a vehicle for the promotion of the kind of world that Jesus conceived. It is perfectly possible to be "Fervent in Business, serving the Lord." But when it comes to the concrete application of these ideals, there is the acid test! It is so easy to follow the line of least resistance which, in the world of law, means turning your back on the ideals to which we give such ready sanction. Many and varied are the extenuating circumstances which bring about this unfortunate truth. Because of the way in which the profession operates, is organized, and because of its underlying attitudes, and because of the extreme severity of competition, the lawyer's ethical battle is not a trivial one. There are temptations to cut corners and to compromise conviction.

The focal question is this: Do we believe enough in what we now believe to be the Christian way of love in human relations. It's so easy to haul down the flag when we see it's dangerous to keep it flying. Those guilty may be likened to the Quaker gentleman who was aboard ship when attacked by pirates. The captain ordered everyone up on deck to fight off the invaders with blunderbusses. The gentleman in question refused to take a blunderbuss because it was against his religious scruples to bear firearms against his fellowman. Instead, he found a long, curved cutlass. As the pirates put their hands on the rail to climb aboard, he crashed down on their fingers, saying, "Go away, friend, thou art not wanted here!" Many individuals participate in unchristian practices of the group in which they find themselves, while salving their consciences with pietistic phrases.

In summary, I think it can be stated quite simply that the kind of answer which a Conscientious Objector, or any Christian, will give to all of those problems confronting him in the legal practice, will depend largely, if not entirely upon his ideas and basic conception of the law and what ends he wishes to make the legal practice serve. If he sees the practice of the law as merely providing the tools for the enforcement of legal rights and to keep persons technically within the law, then I fear his task will have neither Christian foundation nor framework. If, on the other hand, he attempts to relate each legal problem, each legal situation as it presents itself from day to day, to its Christian implications, and recognizes the interrelation of legal questions with moral, ethical, and religious questions, then he will have gone a long way on the road to making the legal practice serve a Christian purpose. I think he can be a Mennonite, nonresistant Christian if he sees that the function of the law is not to keep persons technically within the law, but to seek such solutions of the legal problems of his clients as are compatible with Chris-

tian principle and will avoid the abuses to which the legal profession has too often contributed in the past.

Consecration To Service In His Kingdom

The Conscientious Objector will best prepare himself for legal practice consistent with the Christian way of love by consecrating himself wholeheartedly and unswervingly to service in His kingdom. He must consciously enlist in Christ's cause; and must resolve to work things out along the lines of our great Leader if it takes a lifetime—which it will. We may study, we may theorize, we may do all sorts of things until doomsday, but unless we thus consecrate ourselves, we shall avail but little. Our heart must be set according to the pattern of Jesus Christ—"Wist ye not that I should be about my father's business".

FACTORS EXPLAINING THE DISINTEGRATION OF MENNONITE COMMUNITIES

By John Umble

My interest in extinct Mennonite churches was first roused through my study of Ohio Mennonite Sunday schools. In the *Herald of Truth* I frequently came across references to congregations in Williams, Seneca, Wood, Ashland and Franklin Counties, Ohio. Older church leaders had heard about them, but had no personal knowledge of them, not even of their location.

Once while attending a Sunday School Conference in Fulton County, Ohio, I asked about a Mennonite church near West Unity, in Williams County. Several people knew about it and offered to drive me to the place. There they pointed out the place where a Mennonite church had stood until after 1900. A quarter of a mile away in a field behind a barn, we found a well-kept cemetery containing the graves of several Mennonite bishops and ministers and members of their congregation. By referring to deed records in the Williams County courthouse and consulting several of the older residents of the community who were descendants of early Mennonite families, I was able to reconstruct an outline of the history of the congregation.

In Seneca, Wood, Crawford, Richland and Ashland Counties, I had no one to direct me to the cemetery and the former location of the church. After spending considerable time in Tiffin, the county seat of Seneca County, searching through the deed records, I found a deed made out to the *Manomanist* church. This deed indicated that the church had stood about one mile south and two miles east of Bloomville. I drove to Bloomville and inquired concerning the former location of the Mennonite church. No one remembered such a church. Finally somebody said, "Maybe he means the Maneese church." So they directed me to the deserted Mennonite cemetery southwest of Bloomville.

I located the former site of the Mennonite churches in Wood, Ashland, and Richland Counties in the same way. In each of these communities I found at least one descendant of a former Mennonite family. These men were able to give me some information in regard to the later history of the Mennonite congregation in their community. In several cases they were able to direct me to Mennonite descendants now living in Elkhart County. These latter also gave me information on the life and history of the congregations.

Scores of lonely little cemeteries mark extinct Mennonite congregations extending all the way from eastern Pennsylvania to

Oregon, and I know at least four extinct Amish congregations between Union County, Pennsylvania, and Lyon County, Kansas. The conclusions reached in this paper are based on studies of the Mennonite congregations in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio, more especially of those in Ashland, Richland, Crawford, Seneca, Wood, and Williams County in Ohio; and on the Amish congregations in Union County, Pennsylvania; Knox County, Ohio; Fairfield County, Ohio; and Lyon County, Kansas.

Evidences of Extinct Congregations

The histories of most of the extinct Amish and Mennonite congregations have several things in common. First, deed records of one or more plots of ground set aside for a church building or cemetery. Second, one or more cemeteries, and sometimes the remains somewhere in the community of a church building or at least the foundation of such a building. Third, community memories or traditions concerning the extinct congregation and its members. Fourth, a number of local residents who bear Mennonite names and who are the descendants of former members of the congregation.

The property deeds themselves make an interesting study and are many times the only means that the research student has for finding the location of a former Amish or Mennonite settlement. I have spent days in some Ohio and Pennsylvania court houses, locating deeds to church properties. In most court houses the method of indexing is very inadequate. It is necessary to examine book after book in the old records before one eventually finds the desired deed. In Knox County, Ohio, for instance, I spent two whole days before I discovered in a deed a clause reserving a plot of ground for a particular cemetery. The last Mennonite owner, on selling the property, had reserved about one-fourth of an acre for a burial ground.

Confusing element is the name applied to Mennonites or Amish in some of these deeds. In Seneca County, Ohio, for instance, the deed was made out to the trustees of the "Manomanist" Church. The official writing out the deed no doubt spelled the name phonetically, Menno Menist (may-no may-neest) standing for the Mennonites who were followers of Menno in distinction from the Amen Menists who were the followers of Jacob Amen.

The date of a deed does not always indicate the date of organization of a congregation. On the frontier in the earlier days it was customary for some public-spirited brother to donate a plot of land for a church and cemetery. A deed was considered unnecessary. A verbal agreement was deemed sufficient. Sometimes before the death of the owner of the land where the church stood he gave the ministers or the trustees of the congregation

a deed to the land in order to preserve the congregational ownership. In some states the confusion (and, in some denominations, the litigation) resulting from these verbal agreements led to legislation requiring the recording of a deed to any property donated or sold for churches, cemeteries, schools, or other public use. This, no doubt, is one reason why many deeds to church and school property in Ohio are dated during the decade 1840-1850.

Many early deeds to Mennonite church property specify that the church building is to be used for regular Mennonite church services and to be open to other denominations for funeral services. The deed usually stipulates that the transfer is made to the ministers or trustees of the Mennonite Church for their sole use so long as the Church is used for Mennonite services or so long as the church remains a member of the Mennonite conference. When the church building fell into disuse both the building and the land reverted to the original owner. Some of the church buildings were sold and are still in use as a tool shed. In other cases they were torn down and the lumber was sold.

In a few places the approximate location of the church can still be determined by the absence of burials in a certain area in the cemetery. In Seneca County the six large boulders which served as the foundation for the church have not been removed from the cemetery. In the center of the spot where the church formerly stood a cottonwood tree of considerable size is now growing. In Wood County six similar foundation stones had been removed, but on my first visit to the former location of the church the six depressions where the stones had rested were still plainly evident. On my last visit to this vicinity, however, the woods had been cleared away and the plot had been plowed with the remainder of the field. In most places even the former location of the church has become only a memory.

Cemeteries As Landmarks

Sometimes the proceeds from the sale of the church were used to build a fence around the cemetery. In Seneca County where the church had been built of hewn logs and later sided with wide poplar siding, both the logs and the siding were in excellent condition and were used to build a house in Bloomville. Since in most cases there was no other provision for the cemetery upkeep these cemeteries have now fallen into a bad state of repair. The old Pleasant Hill or Brenneman cemetery in Fairfield County, Ohio, although still fenced a number of years ago, had been allowed to grow up in locust trees, brush and brambles so that one could find the tombstones only after considerable difficulty. In fact standing by the fence one would never guess

that there were any grave markers in the plot. After fighting my way through blackberry briars and other brush and undergrowth I came quite unexpectedly upon a large red granite tombstone four feet high marking the grave of the father of an aged man living only a few miles away.

From some cemeteries relatives have removed the bodies of their dead without even leveling the open graves. This is true in the Mennonite cemetery east of Bloomville, Ohio. Some relatives have removed the bodies of their friends to the municipal cemetery west of Bloomville. In Wayne County several Amish cemeteries—family plots—first fell into disuse, and then, after the stones fell down and were removed to the fence surrounding the field, were plowed up and are now farmed with the remainder of the field. In some Ohio communities the last trustees, descendants of the original Mennonite owners, transferred the title to the cemetery to the township trustees so as to insure perpetual care. Even such cemeteries, however, receive only a minimum of care. As some of the older stones fall over they are removed to the fence so as not to be in the way of the annual or semi-annual mowing of the weeds and shrubbery in the cemetery. All in all, a visit to some of these cemeteries is not a pleasant experience. They furnish a sad commentary on the short-lived quality of human memory and respect for the graves of the dead.

One of the pleasant experiences in visiting the location of a former Mennonite settlement is the memory and tradition that has been handed down regarding the former members of the church. Although these memories are not always without their tragic aspect, one usually learns that "The Meneese" minister was a pious Christian with a strong devotion to his church. He was scrupulously honest. Many times he was a prosperous farmer and had accumulated considerable property. Or it is the memory of a pious grandmother who retained her devotion to her church to the last and after her own church services had been discontinued attended the Reformed or the Methodist Church with her children and grand-children, still wearing her plain Mennonite bonnet and her cape and shawl. Usually some German family Bible has been preserved or some hymn book and other devotional literature. These have been stored away with pious care and the present owners are only too ready to donate them to a library or a collection where they will be preserved and appreciated.

In nearly every community too, there are a few direct descendants of former members of the church. In most communities they are valued members of other denominations, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutheran, or Reformed. These descen-

dants speak with reverence and appreciation of their forbears and are happy and eager to cooperate with the research student in gathering and preserving the bits of history of the former Mennonite congregation. One of the delightful experiences of the student doing research in extinct Mennonite communities is in meeting these descendents of former Mennonites. They are usually, although not quite always, leaders in the religious and civic life of their community, highly respected and useful citizens.

The decline of most of the congregations does not seem to have been due to economic causes. While Mennonites on the frontier were in modest financial circumstances, many of them owned their own farms. Land was cheap. There is every evidence that they were successful farmers and stock raisers. But yet many of them were dissatisfied with their location. Because they wished to leave a farm to each of their children, the call of cheaper land farther west was always a temptation. This was one of the reasons for the disintegration of the Amish congregation in Union County, Pennsylvania, and of the Mennonite congregations in the northern Ohio counties.

Williams County, Ohio

In most of the congregations, however, other disintegrative influences were equally powerful with the desire for a new location. In Williams County, Ohio, many of the families were divided in their church membership. The father or the mother might be a member of the Mennonite church, but the other member of the family, a member of some other church or of no church. Then too, in this congregation church discipline was very strict. A minister who had built a new house used alternate boards of oak and walnut wainscoating in the downstairs rooms. He was censored by the church for pride and worldly display and compelled to paint the wainscoating. Another member was disciplined because a new set of harness which he purchased had some brass decorations. The strict discipline and the consequent bickering and dissatisfaction made church life and membership unattractive to the young people. It interfered also with a wholesome social life. So many forms of innocent amusement and diversion were prohibited in Mennonite homes that Mennonite young people found their social life elsewhere. During the last ten or fifteen years of the history of the congregation only four young people united with the church and one of these was ridiculed so much by her father for wearing a bonnet that she gave up her church membership. During the sixties the congregation ordained a minister who could not preach German. Some of the members were delighted because they hoped that English preaching would interest the young people. After this

ordination of an English-speaking minister, one of the members never again entered the church building although the newly ordained minister died of smallpox before preaching his first sermon. The bishop's wife frequently pleaded with her husband to be less strict with the young people. The final death blow to this congregation came when the ministers took sides with Jacob Wisler, in Elkhart County, and decided to hold to the strict old order of worship and practice. That meant no Sunday School, no revival meetings, no English preaching, and extreme simplicity in dress, home decorations, and social life.¹

Some of the members of the dying congregation moved to Canada; some returned to eastern Ohio. After the death of the bishop, his widow and some of her children moved to Elkhart County, Indiana, and united with the Yellow Creek Wisler congregation. One of the members united with the Amish Mennonite congregation in Fulton County. One family united with the Church of the Brethren and later furnished that congregation with an excellent preacher.

Seneca County, Ohio

The story of the Seneca County congregation is much the same. Because they were of slightly different background from the neighboring Mennonite congregations, they had very little in common with them. Across Northern Ohio the Mennonite congregations were approximately fifty miles apart. Some were settled chiefly by Lancaster County Mennonites, some by Mennonites from Virginia, some by Franconia Mennonites, and some by a combination of Lancaster County and Canadian Mennonites. Apparently the Seneca County group had little contact or acquaintanceship with the settlers from Lancaster County. So long as Bishop John M. Brenneman, of Allen County, served

1. In many respects the old order Mennonites resemble the old order Amish except that they conduct their church services in a meeting house instead of the homes of the members. Another difference is that the old order Mennonite does not wear a beard. The church service, however, is conducted similarly in both groups. It is true the old order Mennonites "line" their hymns from a hymn book introduced about the middle of the nineteenth century while the Amish still use the *Ausbund*. The entire service—hymns, sermon, prayer—is conducted in the German language. In the worship service of both groups the first prayer is a long, silent prayer, the audience kneeling. Both groups dress according to a prescribed mode handed down from their fathers, although the old order Mennonites do not always dress the children in the garb of their parents as the Amish do.

the Seneca County congregation as bishop there were some evidences of prosperity. Financially, the members were on a solid foundation. The minister, Isaac Rohrer, himself owned several sections of good farming land.

But here too the strict, old order was observed. No Sunday school, nothing but the very formal Sunday morning service every two or four weeks. Whole families of young people united with the Reformed church. The Brethren, which now also are extinct in the community, offered competition to the small Mennonite congregation and drew away several members. Before George Detweiler, a surviving descendant of the old settlers, passed away a few years ago, he told me that a few of the families moved to Canada, but most of them were simply lost in the social and congregational life of the community. The minister's widow moved north of Columbiana, Ohio, and united with the Wisler congregation. This congregation, so far as the writer knows, is not represented in any Mennonite congregation by any surviving descendants except a single family, named Troxel, which moved to Canada and now holds membership in the Mennonite Brethren in Christ church near Toronto.

Here again the cause of disintegration seems to have been an unwillingness to adopt a progressive program of Bible teaching and training for the young people and the failure to provide an adequate social life to establish and promote a community spirit.

Wood County, Ohio

The history of the Wood County congregation is altogether different. This was founded by a group of relatives and friends. There were large families of Tysons and Boyers, Pletchers and Rissers. Although the Church of the Brethren did some proselyting the Mennonite membership in Wood County, including the young people, was large enough during the sixties and seventies to promise a large and flourishing congregation. Here sickness, land hunger, and internal dissension dissipated the congregation. A mysterious epidemic during which one of the Tysons, a coffin-maker, made sixty coffins one summer lowered the vitality of the people and caused unrest that made them susceptible to the glowing tales of a Michigan land agent. One of the ministers, Henry Pletcher, sent his children to a Methodist Sunday School conducted in English. This created a tremendous stir. Pletcher had been ordained by John M. Brenneman and gave promise of being a useful worker. During the Wisler-Funk controversy in Elkhart County the majority of the congregation followed the lead of Jacob Wisler, of Indiana, Bishop Abraham Lehman, of Williams County, and Bishop Peter Imhoff, of Ashland County. The congregation divided on such matters as Sun-

day school, revival meetings, and other forms of Mennonite church progress. Then some of the Pletchers, including Preacher Henry Pletcher, some of the Boyers, and most of the Risser families moved to Elkhart County and united with the Sunday school group at the Yellow Creek Mennonite Church. The majority of the people in Wood County remained Wisler but the dissatisfaction created by the removal to Elkhart County of the more progressive members of the congregation led the majority of the others to move to the Maple River Wisler congregation near Brutus, Michigan. Another strong factor influencing this wholesale migration to northern Michigan was a land agent's glowing account of the agricultural and lumbering possibilities of that section.

Although a new minister was ordained in Wood County, the congregation never prospered. After 1884, only four families were left and the minister moved to Columbiana County, Ohio, where he cast his lot with the Wisler church. Most of the group that went to Brutus, Michigan, eventually moved to Elkhart County, Indiana, where some became members of the Mennonite church and others continued their membership with the Wisler group. A few returned to Wood County from Brutus, but their descendants are lost to the Mennonite church.

In Wood County, then, there were several reasons for the decline of the Mennonite congregation. The unhealthful climate undermined the health of the people. There were typhoid and malaria and the mysterious summer sickness already referred to. The drinking water also was rather unwholesome and affected the health of a number of the people. These general conditions made the people susceptible to tuberculosis. Health conditions may have led a few of the families to seek other locations. This in turn created dissatisfaction among those who remained and made them susceptible to the advertising campaigns of the land agent in Indiana and Michigan. The death blow to the congregation, however, came when internal dissension divided the group on English preaching, Sunday school, revival meetings and a more spirited type of church service. One other condition may have affected the prosperity of the congregation. In the early years when the group was small, several of the young people married members of the Methodist church in the neighborhood. Although the Methodist in-laws united with the Mennonite church, the connection of these families with Methodist families made a transition to that denomination easier when difficulty arose in the Mennonite congregation.

Crawford and Richland Counties, Ohio

On account of the scattered membership the Mennonite congregation in the vicinity of Galion, Ohio, on the border of Craw-

ford and Richland Counties, held small promise of success even from the beginning. Several Pletcher and Kilmer families lived southwest of Gallon; two Freed families, a Nestlerodt, a Null and several others lived widely scattered northwest and southwest of Ontario nearly ten miles east of the Pletchers and the Kilmers. The minister, John Freed, and his family seem to have been quite progressive. The Mennonites held their services in a community church in Ontario and buried their dead in a nearby cemetery. After Preacher John Freed died in 1872 the families who held most tenaciously to Mennonite principles moved into western Elkart County and literally carved a home out of the primeval forest. Others were too old to brave the rigors of a frontier settlement. Those descendants of members of the congregation who remained in Crawford and Richland County intermarried with descendants of the other German pioneers and were lost to the Mennonite Church. The few remaining old people who retained their membership in the Mennonite Church seem not to have joined the Wisler movement.

Here again a widely scattered membership brought extinction to what might have been a thriving Mennonite congregation. A progressive leadership failed to keep the group together, but seems rather to have made the dispersion more complete by encouraging association with non-Mennonite elements in the neighborhood. Emigration to strange Mennonite settlements and intermarriage with local non-Mennonites have left two neglected cemeteries to mark the location of a once promising Mennonite congregation in a community with a sound agricultural economy.

Ashland County, Ohio

In Ashland County the situation is much more confused and complicated. Before 1820 some Lancaster County Mennonites settled in the western part of the county. They were joined later by several young Swiss immigrants and a little later by two ministers and their families from the Bavarian Palatinate in Germany. Of these, Preacher Peter Beutler united with the Old Mennonites, but his friend, Preacher John Risser, refused to conform to their discipline and founded the German Salem Church which, forty years later, united with the General Conference of Mennonites of North America. The Nussbaums and Imhoffs who arrived from Switzerland before 1830 and the Hartmans from Hesse who came a little later also joined the Lancaster County group.

During the thirties and forties, River Brethren ministers held revival meetings in Wayne and Ashland counties and made serious inroads into the Mennonite membership in Ashland County. One of the Mennonite ministers became a pillar in the River Brethren Congregation. The Church of God and the United Brethren in

Christ also drew members from the Mennonite Church in Ashland County. The River Brethren founded two congregations, made up largely of members of the Mennonite Church and their children. Both the River Brethren and the United Brethren practiced a more spirited type of church service and emphasized an inner experience. This unsettled many of the Mennonites who were more quietistic and who emphasized obedience and good works. Many of them were led to a new type of religious experience at the River Brethren "mourner's bench." Members of the same family held membership in different denominations.

Dissatisfaction caused by these conditions and by the resulting internal dissension led to wholesale emigrations. Even during the forties some families moved back to the more stable Mennonite communities in Wayne and Columbiana counties; many to the Ohio congregations farther west and eventually to Elkhart County, Indiana. When the trying times of 1870 arrived, bringing to a head the growing controversy about Sunday school and English preaching, the two congregations in Ashland County were divided into two parties. The one was a mere handful of "Wisler people" in the northern part of the settlement under the leadership of Bishop Peter Imhoff, the Swiss immigrant. These were chiefly members of his own family. They allowed their meetinghouse to fall into disuse. For the last few years of the history of the congregation they met for church services in the bishop's home. The other, a more progressive but aging group, under the leadership of Preacher John Hartman, the Hessian, worshipped in a Mennonite church at the southern end of the settlement near the General Conference meeting house.

Most of the young people did not unite with any church. After Hartman's death in 1881, the few remaining young people united with the German General Conference Mennonite Church, and when that also died out, at 1900 they transferred their membership to the Stone Lutheran Church. Bishop Peter Imhoff and some of his group moved to Chester Township, Wayne County, and united with the Wisler branch. Here at present is another dying church furnishing a good opportunity to make a case study of a church apparently doomed to extinction. A helpless leadership seems unable to sense a method to avert disaster.

The General Conference congregation in Ashland County meanwhile had continued as a German church served by various ministers and occupying their meeting house jointly with a German Reformed-German Lutheran congregation which had its own minister and alternated services with the Mennonites. In the eighties an English Sunday school organized in a school house in the community by a Lutheran minister led to the founding of an English Lutheran congregation—the Stone Lutheran Church.

Since the deed to the Mennonite church property stipulated that only German services could be held in the Salem Church, most Christians in the neighborhood, Old Mennonites, General Conference Mennonites, Methodists, Lutheran and Reformed, gradually transferred their membership to the Stone Lutheran Church. The last surviving member of the Old Mennonite Church, Abram M. Boyer, died in 1924.

From the foregoing it appears that a variety of causes contributed to the decline of the Ashland County Mennonite congregations: (1) competition from pietistic groups unsettled the Mennonites on the subject of baptism by immersion and an emotional heart experience of religion; (2) internal dissension brought on by this competition divided the group on these same questions even when members remained loyal to the Old Mennonite Church; (3) failure of the congregation during the seventies to provide for transition to the English language dispersed the young people; and (4) failure to organize a Sunday school and other means of religious instruction and expression for the young people led them to seek a church home in other denominations.

Amish Congregations

The story of the decline of the Amish or Amish Mennonite congregations differs in important respects from that of the Mennonites, but there are also points of similarity. Many Mennonite congregations now extinct never had a large membership, but struggled for years trying to build up a congregation. A few such congregations still exist and struggle on year after year without growth in numbers and without a really healthy congregational or community life. Amish, on the other hand, refuse to remain in a community where a strong congregation cannot be built up. The extinct Amish congregation in Knox County, Ohio, is an example of this type. About 1830 a group of Amish or Amish Mennonites moved into that county, selected good land and organized a congregation. The grandfather of the late Jesse Smucker, of Goshen, Indiana, was ordained to the ministry in that congregation. A half dozen families lived in that neighborhood for several years on adjoining farms. But when it became evident that other members of their faith would not settle there, they dispersed. A few moved back to stronger Amish settlements in the east. Others, among whom was Bishop Isaac Schmucker, went farther west. Here the sole reason for the breaking up of the congregation seems to have been an unwillingness to remain in a section where there was no promise of building up a strong congregation. The panic of 1837 may have been a contributing factor.

The history of the Fairfield County, Ohio, Amish congregation

is similar, but differs in important respects from that in Knox County. In Fairfield County the number was never large and the size of the congregation may have lead some people to move to stronger or newer settlements. Land values in Fairfield County were rising when the members began moving to Champaign County, Ohio, and to Iowa. A few families remained until late in the eighties, but by that time all but a very few had moved either to Wayne and Holmes or Champaign and Logan Counties in Ohio or to Iowa. So far as I have been able to learn, this colony did not break up on account of internal dissension, but chiefly because the high price of land interfered with the growth of the colony by making it possible for the members to dispose of their holdings at a profit, and also by discouraging new settlers.

The history of the extinct Union County, Pennsylvania, Amish congregation founded in the beautiful Buffalo Valley in the early thirties by Samuel Lantz and a number of his sons-in-law and their friends, is another story of a congregation destroyed and dispersed by internal dissension. All that now remains of the congregation is three cemeteries, one of them not very well-kept, and a few families in the vicinity of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, who still bear Amish names like Riehl and Miller. This congregation was held together through many years of dissension by the strong friendship existing between two brothers-in-law, Bishop Elias Riehl and Deacon Christian Stoltzfus. Bishop Riehl was a strict disciplinarian and disciplined some of the deacon's sons rather severely. A large vineyard and wine cellar owned by one of the deacon's sons caused at least part of the difficulty. But through it all bishop and deacon stood shoulder to shoulder. One of the members organized a Sunday school in her home. This caused dissatisfaction among the more conservative members, but the congregation weathered this storm also.

Two incidents finally divided the congregation to such an extent that it was no longer possible to retain a semblance of unity. Only twice during the last fifteen years of the history of the congregation was it possible to hold a communion service. Both of these incidents were extremely unfortunate and to a large extent uncalled for. The beginning of the difficulty came when a young woman of the congregation claimed to have received an anonymous letter. One of the bishop's sons was suspected of having written the letter. Although there was nothing particularly offensive in the letter, the incident aroused so much feeling that a handwriting expert was called in to examine specimens of the writing of more than a dozen young people in the congregation. The expert decided that none of the young

people whose handwriting he had examined had written the note. This exonerated the bishop's son, but one faction in the congregation was convinced that he was guilty and insisted that the bishop should punish his son. Although some of the bishop's friends deserted him during this controversy, the deacon and the bishop stood together against the majority of the members of the congregation and the young man was not punished. Years later the young woman confessed that she had written the letter herself to impress her friends with her popularity.

Later some of the deacon's sons began to erect windmills in the neighborhood under a verbal contract with a manufacturing concern. They were building up a good business with this new invention. Then the bishop's sons secretly secured a written contract and displaced the deacon's sons as the legal representatives of the firm. After that certain members of the congregation refused to allow the bishop to preach in their homes and when he absented himself from services, the deacon at last reluctantly consented to have a committee from Mifflin County try the bishop. He refused to defend himself, they silenced him, and only two families stood by him. Later he united with the Mennonite church. Even before this time some of the members had moved to Lancaster County to unite with the old order Amish congregations near Morgantown. After the death of the deacon, members of his family with some of their friends chartered an immigrant car and helped to found the Amish or Amish Mennonite settlement in Lyon County, Kansas. Thus the Union County congregation, founded in a beautiful agricultural section, still prosperous and well-to-do, was destroyed through the constant bickering and dissension among its members. It is not a pretty story.

Lyons County, Kansas

I lived for six years in Lyons County, Kansas, during the late eighties, the most flourishing period of the history of that settlement. Most of the settlers from Pennsylvania and Ohio were enticed by land agents, free trips to Kansas, and glowing accounts of the fertility of the soil. The congregation met for services in a school house and in the homes of members. There was little internal difficulty. The deacon, however, was a Frenchman of violent temper and unsound business principles and required discipline at nearly every counsel meeting. Services were conducted in the German language. The group was sufficiently progressive to attempt to organize a Sunday school, but too few were familiar enough with the Bible to serve as teachers. But the group probably would have survived these difficulties if they could have made a living. They had not learned to do dry farming. Drouth resistant wheat was unknown. Most of them planted their entire quarter section to corn year after

year. The first year a flood destroyed their crops. Corn, ruined by hot winds or killed by chinch bugs, was an utter failure during the second, third and fourth years. An Ohio bishop and his sons joined the group in 1886. He purchased several sections of land. After he had erected dwelling houses for himself and the families of his sons on this land, a man who held a concealed mortgage on the land claimed the entire property with all the improvements. The bishop died of typhoid fever. His widow and most of his sons moved to Missouri. By that time enough of the families had returned to Ohio so that most of the others, discouraged and dissatisfied in spite of better crops in 1888 and 1889, also returned to the east. A few, too poor to move so far, went to Nebraska. The few families who kept moving in from less favored parts of the West attempted to rebuild the declining congregation and even ordained a minister to replace the two who had moved away.

But the retrogression already under way was too strong to be stemmed. The few remaining members moved to Nebraska and Missouri. Some of the younger people were attracted to the Christian church during a mid-summer revival and were received into that church by baptism by immersion in the Neosha River.

The cause of the decline of this congregation was chiefly economic. The financial disappointments of the settlers deterred other families from moving in and Amish usually refuse to remain in a new settlement unless considerable numbers of like faith gather in the same neighborhood.

Still other extinct Mennonite churches might have been included in this study. In the late 1830's a group of Mennonites moved into the southern part of Logan County, Ohio, where a congregation flourished for a time. They had a resident bishop but the Dunkards in the vicinity made serious inroads on the membership. The congregation died out entirely and the remaining members either moved to Clay and Owen Counties in western Indiana or returned to Fairfield County, Ohio. The leaders of the group that moved to Clay and Owen Counties were very conservative opposing Sunday school and English services. The congregation, few in number, gradually drifted into other denominations, one young man becoming a Methodist minister.

In eastern Indiana near Waterloo an isolated group of Mennonites attempted to found a congregation but the older people were very conservative, while the young people gradually became more and more secularized. Many of them refused to adopt the plain garb of their parents although they were convinced by the preaching of John S. Coffman of the biblical soundness of the doctrines of the Mennonite Church. A few

even united with the church, but on the day when they were baptized a union baptismal service was conducted, a Dunkard preacher baptizing part of the converts and John S. Coffman the remainder. It is hardly necessary for the purpose of this study to mention the extinct Mennonite congregations in southern Michigan and northern Indiana because their history is similar to those already noted.

Presently Dying Churches

It may be interesting to point out here that Mennonite churches are actually becoming extinct at this moment. In Chester Township, Wayne County, Ohio, where formerly a large congregation of extreme old order Mennonites flourished there are now two old order Mennonite churches using the same meeting house on alternate Sunday mornings. The smaller group of less than a dozen was deserted by one of their ministers a few years ago. This minister united with the automobile owning group of which his son was a member. He was living with the son and found it inconvenient to keep up a horse and buggy in order to drive alone to his own church services while his son drove to the same place in an automobile on the alternate Sunday. This group is so small that the young people cannot find life mates without coming to northern Indiana. One of the members told me a few years ago rather sorrowfully but also somewhat fatalistically, "It is only a question of time until our congregation also dies out."

The old order Mennonite church across the road from the brick Mennonite church known as Yellow Creek, in western Elkhart County, also shows signs of decline. The group has divided on the issue of automobiles. One group still drives to church in the horse and buggy and the other group is beginning to use automobiles. Now and again a family leaves one or the other of the two congregations in order to unite with the Mennonite Church at Yellow Creek so that the boys and girls can attend Sunday School. It is not unusual on a Sunday morning to see an automobile stop in front of the old order Mennonite church to let grandmother out while the son and his family drive on to the Yellow Creek Mennonite Church a few rods farther on. To an onlooker this may seem rather odd, but especially to the older people it means heartache and a certain hopelessness in outlook for the future. To the student of Mennonite communities, however, it is only another instance of the futility of attempting to perpetuate a static society.

The decline of the congregations that I have mentioned may not include all the reasons for the disappearance of Amish or Mennonite congregations, but a few generalizations would seem to be in order.

- (1) A congregation is not likely to succeed if the numbers are too small, fewer than fifty, or if it is separated to far from another congregation. A congregation of this size does not offer sufficient numbers for a happy social life. The young people of the congregation are likely to seek their friends outside the congregational circle.
- (2) Intermarriage with non-Mennonite or non-Amish young people in the community tends to weaken congregational ties and to make a transition to other religious groups easier.
- (3) A widely scattered membership, especially if the congregation is not large, tends to loosen congregational ties by encouraging young people to find their social life outside the Mennonite community.
- (4) The economic factor seems to be a strong one. Mennonite and Amish congregations do not prosper where living conditions are unfavorable.
- (5) The strongest single factor in building up a congregation seems to be the right kind of leadership, sympathetic toward the social demands and requirements of young people, with ability to make the worship services vital, interesting, and attractive to childhood and youth. Numbers of the Ohio congregations failed because the leaders could not accommodate themselves to changing conditions that demanded English preaching and the organization of young people's activities in the church.

A SET OF STANDARDS FOR A CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

By Howard Kaufman

Christians in all ages have had the ever-present problem of interpreting their particular patterns of life in the light of divine truth. Different applications of truth must be made in the face of ever changing social milieus. An understanding of the true pattern of Christian social relationships does not automatically follow the spiritual regeneration which comes with the new birth. Such understanding comes only through diligent, openminded inquiry into the teachings of Christ, and through the translation of the high moral principles which He has given us into the activities of everyday life.

So we today continue to examine the pattern of social relationships manifest in the groups of which we are a part. With God's guidance we seek to determine Christian behavior as it contrasts with the actions found in a secular world around us. We have many social "blind spots," areas of life in which our unconscious acceptance of the surrounding secular values has dimmed our sight concerning the true Christian principles. We need to set up ideals or goals of perfection, expressed in the common language of everyday life, which will spur us on in an effort to improve our faltering attempts to live out the commands of Christ.

Webster defines a standard as "an accepted or established rule or model." Hence our topic implies a consideration of group activities which may be held up as an ideal or model pattern. We should expect our standards to be higher than our actual practices. How we live is usually different from how we should live. Our discussion, therefore, is perforce a representation of subjective evaluations and personal judgments rather than a treatment of objective data. For that reason there is broad room for differing opinions. It is hoped that the ideas herein presented will at least serve to stimulate our further reflections on what is a Christian pattern of life for our communities.

Let us consider briefly what we mean by a Christian community. The word "community" has been used to represent widely differing concepts. On one hand it has been used to refer to a small locality or neighborhood group. On the other hand, one hears of a "community of nations", such as the Benelux countries of northwestern Europe. Rural sociologists use the term rural community to refer to a geographical area with a

trading center.¹ All the persons living within the boundaries of the geographical locality are members of the community.

As used by most Mennonite scholars, however, the term refers to a more narrowed concept. In speaking of the Mennonite community Harold S. Bender suggests that "church" may well be substituted for "community." He further suggests that a Christian community is a "fellowship of disciples of Christ sharing a common faith."² In this more narrowed sense, a Christian community usually does not include all of the persons living within a geographical area. In a community more broadly conceived, one is forced to recognize non-Christian elements. Hence, for purposes of this paper, we shall use the more narrowed concepts of a church-centered community. The church house, rather than a town or village, can be thought of as the center of a Christian community. Furthermore we shall limit our consideration to the small rural community rather than to include the larger urban communities. Frequent references to Mennonites simply reflects our special interest in this particular Christian group.

One must further consider that we are dealing with groups rather than individuals. Our standards are group standards, or rather, standards of group behavior. To be sure, many of the standards of individual conduct may also be applied to groups. Honesty, truthfulness, sincerity, humility, kindness, helpfulness, etc., are Christian standards for personal conduct. They may also characterize group conduct. We will, however, restrict our discussion to standards as they apply directly to group activity, including religious, social, and economic phases. We will think also of the attitudes, beliefs, and Christian concerns which are manifested through the various community activities.

Let us consider briefly eight standards for Christian community living:

1. Community Consciousness

An appreciation for the value of the community is a prerequisite to the acceptance of any set of standards as a guide to community living. Hence the first standard which needs to be established is community consciousness. In the minds of each community member there should be an understanding of the values received from community relationships, especially the

1. See T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, Harper, 1947 p. 347. Also Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, Wiley and Sons, 1942, p. 5.

2. Harold S. Bender, "The Mennonite Conception of the Church and Its Relation to Community Building," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. 19, April, 1945, p. 90

informal, face-to-face, "primary group" type relationships.³

It is not necessary to develop this point at length. Rural sociologists have for several decades pointed out the desirable qualities for the simple life. Mennonite scholars have in the last decade also arrived at a new understanding of the rural environment as a powerful factor in the maintenance of the cultural and spiritual heritage of Mennonites. Melvin Gingerich's paper at the Chicago Conference on Mennonite Sociology held in December 1941 emphasized the importance of strengthening our appreciation for the rural community.⁴

In building greater appreciation for the rural community one finds himself in opposition to the more dominant urban values and ideals. The newspaper, the radio, the public school, and sometimes even the family itself brings pressure upon the developing child to get him to accept the urban materialistic ideals. To the materialistically minded person, the highest value in life is the possession and use of "things", and the city provides more "things" than does the rural area. Therefore, to get ahead in the world, one must go to the city. In the face of this dominant value system, many people lose their respect for the rural community.

In helping people to arrive at a greater appreciation for the small community, it is frequently necessary to alter their value orientation. It is necessary to demonstrate that ideals, principles, and spiritual values are of greater importance than material things. The principles of love, brotherhood, mutual aid, and discipleship grow out of the informal relationships of the small Christian community. The consciousness of this fact will go far to make people aware of the advantages which are theirs as members of a small Christian community.

2. Self-evaluation and self-criticism

The second standard which might profitably be suggested is self-evaluation and self-criticism. In his first letter to the Corinthians the apostle Paul wrote, "Let a man examine himself."⁵ For most people the process of self-examination is something

3. For a discussion of the primary group and its function see Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

4. Melvin Gingerich, "Rural Life Problems and the Mennonites," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. 16, July 1942, pp. 167-173. See also Guy F. Hershberger, "Maintaining the Mennonite Rural Community," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. 14, October 1940, p. 214.

5. I Corinthians 11:28.

distasteful, something to be avoided as much as possible. The possibility of seeing oneself as others see him may actually be a deterrent to self-examination. It takes much less will-power to examine someone else than it does to examine oneself.

Let a community examine itself. The same values of self-criticism on the individual level can be expected to obtain in the area of the group. One needs to see his community as those outside see it. With such a perspective one will recognize the weaknesses as well as the strong points of his community.

The leaders of Christian communities should be vitally interested in surveys and studies of their communities. The facts need to be known in order that community programs may be built on sound foundations. Community studies should provide data on economic resources, group activities, business practices, church participation, financial needs, etc. Methods for such studies have already been discussed in 1942 by J. Winfield Fretz, at the first conference on Mennonite cultural problems.⁶ The spiritual life and strength of a community can be measured in part by an analysis of data revealed through community studies.

The aim in self-evaluation and self-criticism is community weak points. Therefore a community survey should reveal the community's weak points, along with the desirable practices which may be found. A study which points out only the strong points may appeal to the ethnocentric pride of the members of the community, but it will do little to precipitate concerted action toward improvement. For example, an objective community study might reveal that a large proportion of the recreational activities of the young people of the community consists of secularized, commercial entertainment programs. Unless this condition is revealed, and unless community leaders become concerned about such a condition, there is little likelihood that an offsetting program of church activities will be undertaken. It is to be hoped that present and future students of Mennonite community life will retain a strong measure of objectivity in community evaluation and criticism and thereby lay a more sure foundation for the improvement of community life.

3. Religious Extroversion

A third standard for a Christian community I should like to call "religious extroversion." By this term I refer to that condition where the members of a community exhibit concern and zeal for the spiritual and material welfare of individuals and groups outside their own community. The crying needs of souls

6. J. Winfield Fretz, "A Methodology for Studying the Local Community", *Proceedings of the First Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems*, August, 1942, p. 26.

in the world about us have come to the attention of everyone. The degree to which a community responds to world needs for physical and spiritual sustenance is a measure of the community's spirituality. In the face of present day world needs, the Christian community can do nothing short of pouring forth its financial, material and human resources into the field of service.

What effect will a large program of this "religious extroversion" have upon a community? Will the draining off of men and material resources tend to weaken a community? Should a pastor or church leader encourage capable young leaders to leave the home community to go into relief work or mission work? Frequently church leaders have not encouraged young persons to take up college work, fearing lest they fail to return to the home community.

The answer to these questions is not easy. There are, no doubt, particular cases where communities have suffered because potential leadership has left the community. On the other hand there are ingrown communities whose vision of world service is curtailed because they have given few or none of their youth to the greater areas of service. It is probably safe to say that most Mennonite church communities have erred on the side of not sending enough men and women into church-wide, rather than on the side of sending too many.

The Seventh Day Adventist denomination, one of the fastest growing denominations in this country, supports a mission program at a per member cost many times greater than the per member cost of the mission program of Mennonite groups.⁷ May it not be that growth is in porportion to activity? And may it not be that the community which gives most will in return receive most? Along with our increased interest in strengthening our Christian communities we must also continue strengthening our witness beyond the community.

4. An Adequate Program of Young People's Activities

As a fourth standard every Christian community should provide an adequate program of young people's activities in which Christian values can be fostered. One is often reminded that the youth are the church of tomorrow. Nationalist leaders of modern times have been quick to capitalize on the pliability of the youthful mind in training patriotic citizens for tomorrow. The Christian community must also be aggressive in guiding its youth into useful citizenship in the Kingdom of God.

A number of factors have increased the needs for a positive young people's program. A most important factor is the in-

7. *Census of Religious Bodies*, 1936, Vol. I, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

creased amount of leisure time. Even farm youth are experiencing this factor to a measure never realized before. What will the young people do with their leisure time? It is a foregone conclusion that they will do something, go somewhere. If the church does not provide the activities, then the youth will go outside into the secular world for its entertainment.

A second factor is the increased ease of communication and transportation. This brings within reach a much wider and more varied number of activities, both Christian and un-Christian. A third factor is the multiplicity of activities which are provided on every hand. The stage is well set for abundant participation in activities of questionable nature. These activities are not based on religious values, but upon the secular, monetary, competitive, power-worshipping values of the surrounding dominant urban culture. Such activities lead to moral degeneration and disintegration of both individuals and whole communities.

Let the Christian community develop a program of challenging activities such as chorus work, God's Acre projects, directed recreation, volunteer service projects, youth camps, mission Sunday Schools, etc., and the young people will have little time or desire to patronize the amusement park, the ball park, the theater, or to spend hours riding in cars on the highway. Surely here is an area wherein the church must adjust to a changing social pattern of life.

5. Spontaneous Mutual Aid Practices

A primary function of the Christian life is the expression of love for others which takes the form of helpfulness and service to those in need. Within a community there are many opportunities for individuals or groups to render aid to their neighbors. If the service is given on a group basis we call it mutual aid. Certainly an important fifth standard for a Christian community is the maintenance of mutual aid practices among the group.

The present trend is towards a greater formalization of mutual aid. Instead of trusting in the good will of his neighbors to rebuild his barn if it burns, the farmer relies on the formally organized insurance company. Or if his crop is destroyed, he recovers from the government. If the farmer fails completely, he can apply for government relief. Instead of joining a threshing ring to get his grain harvested, the farmer now employs a man with a combine, or uses his own. A returned C.P.S. man made this pointed observation. Before the war the farmers in his community exchanged help with little regard to the amount of time each helped the other. Since the war, however, the farmers in his community keep accurate record of the number of hours each helps the other, and a cash transaction is arranged to settle any balance. This trend is in part a reflection of the present-

day tendency toward the increased reduction of time and service to monetary values.

There are, of course, advantages in the formalizing of mutual aid practices. Some people desire freedom from depending on the goodwill of neighbors. They would rather pay for their benefits. They would rather collect from the impersonal insurance company than become the objects of personal charity. Also where neighbors neglect to render informal aid, formalized aid seems to be the only answer or needy persons will go unaided. The question may still be raised, however, whether the informal, spontaneous service is not really the purest manifestation of the spirit of Christ. The disadvantage in formalizing aid lies in the reduction of the number of opportunities which the individual has for giving personal expressions of love, brotherhood, and helpfulness. Christian groups will do well to encourage personal acts of helpfulness, for therein lies a firm base for the development of Christian character and love for service. As Winfield Fretz has pointed out, the spirit of mutual aid normally displayed in the family has, in many cases among the Mennonites, been extended beyond the family to the entire religious brotherhood.⁸ It is important that this aspect of our cultural heritage be preserved for future generations.

6. Ethical Business Practices

It has been generally held by Mennonites that life cannot be divided into secular and sacred segments. All of one's activities are expressions of the basic Christian tenets which undergird his life. To some the area of business relations may seem quite secular. But even in this area there are myriad ways of giving expression to Christian values and ideals. Hence the Christian community must set forth standards to guide its members along the line of ethical business practices.

The area of economic relationships offers many opportunities for compromise between Christian values and secular values. The assimilation of a distinctive cultural group into a dominant cultural pattern proceeds most rapidly in the economic sphere. Mennonites have come to be most like the world about them in the matter of making a living. With the exception of the conservative groups, Mennonites very readily adopt the latest machines, the most scientific methods of production, and the most profitable business practices. It is highly important that Christians take care that, while hastening to adopt the methods, they do not also imbibe un-Christian values and principles. It is possible that a Christian business man may become so absorbed in our

8. J. Winfield Fretz. "Mutual Aid Among Mennonites," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. 13, July 1939, pp. 187-209.

competitive, free enterprise system that to him system becomes synonymous with Christianity, and all other economic systems become un-Christian. In his pursuit of the dollar he may forget to treat labor fairly, he may invest his money in unscrupulous businesses, or he may, as the priest and Levite, pass by on the other side when confronted with human need.

In a Christian community one would look for an adequate wage level. One would also expect to find liberal financial provisions for young business enterprisers and young farmers who need help in obtaining credit for their operations. One would not expect to find cut-throat price wars, nor the so-called "gentlemen's agreements" for price maintenance. One would look for cooperative enterprises. Sharply competitive situations have a tendency to breed jealousies and feelings of ill-will toward one's competitor. Christian businessmen dare not fall prey to these situations. Any program to reduce the number of competitive situations would seem to be in line with Christian principles. Hence the value of cooperative enterprises which emphasize working with others rather than working against others. Christian communities will always be challenged to improve business practices, and to maintain a Christian perspective in the face of powerful secular values.

7. Equality of Opportunity of All

A seventh standard for a Christian community is an equal opportunity for all the members of the community to enjoy the good things of life. It is a Christian principle that those who have should share with those who have not. In their zeal for expressing the newly found joys of brotherhood, the early Christians sold their goods and brought the money to the disciples for distribution where needed. Few groups today follow such a pattern of communistic sharing. Nor do we mean to infer that sharing cannot be accomplished under a system of private ownership of property.

In most communities one does not need to search long until he finds gross inequalities in the possession of goods. There is the poor tenant who can barely feed and clothe his family. At the other end of the scale is the wealthy landowner, or successful businessman who enjoys the latest conveniences of life, lives in a fine house, eats the best food, gives his children the best education available, and sets his sons up in business. In a Christian community the extremes of social levels should not be far apart. But, someone asks, what if all the families in the community possess the basic needs of life? To this comes the reply, "Yes, but there are millions in the world who suffer, many who die daily for lack of food."

To be sure, the church can well appreciate the financial re-

sources of its members, else how could a program of missions, relief, education, publication, etc., be carried out. However, the resources which are available should not be characterized by maldistribution. History has shown that an increase of wealth in a society leads to the increased height and rigidity of social stratification. Greater and greater proportions of the wealth becomes concentrated in the hands of the few. Is it not possible that, as wealth increases, there will also be an increase in stratification within the Christian Community, and within the Mennonite community also?

In a Christian community should the son of a poor man be deprived of farming because of the unavailability of finances, while the son of the rich man has a farm given to him? Should the poor man's daughter be discouraged from attending college because of the prohibitive expense? Christian people need to view this problem seriously and study ways and means of extending mutual aid to those who are less fortunate in the possession of this world's goods. Thus shall we bear one another's burdens.

8. Faithful Stewardship of Property

As an eighth and final standard let us consider the faithful stewardship of property. The Christian realizes that all things belong to God and that he is but a steward charged with the responsibility of using these things for the good of his fellowmen. Thus one would look to the Christian community for the best practices in soil conservation, in crop rotation, and in care of buildings and equipment. The Christian must be "not slothful in business." Science has contributed greatly to the knowledge of good conservation practices. Every faithful steward should make good use of all knowledge which is available to aid in the right use of Divine gifts.

In conclusion let it be observed that the standards which have been discussed represent by no means an exhaustive list. Others could be added, such as the development of leadership, or the maintenance of strong familism. We have not included scriptural indoctrination, consecrated ministry, and other points mentioned by Guy F. Hershberger in discussing the topic of improving the small Christian community at the first conference on Mennonite cultural problems.⁹

Standards may be set up in all phases of life's activities. The aforementioned standards may merely serve to suggest the wide range of affairs in everyday living which are subject to evaluation

9. Guy F. Hershberger, "Suggestions for Improving the Small Christian Community," *Proceedings of the first Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems*, August 1942.

in the light of Christian principles. The least we can do is to continue seeking for new light on the practical aspects of Christian community life. May we also have the zeal and courage to follow the light which we have already received.

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE MENNONITE BRETHREN

By John H. Lohrentz

The Mennonite Brethren Church, with a history of 89 years, constitutes an integral part of the general body of Mennonites. It had its origin in Russia in 1860 in the midst of the existing Mennonite Church where it continued to be a separate church body among the Mennonite settlements. It has had its greatest expansion in North America, the land to which it was transplanted beginning with the year 1874. Here it has grown to be the third largest branch among the Mennonites and has probably made its chief contribution toward religious and cultural life.

The historical sources for the study of the Mennonite Brethren are: *Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland, 1789-1910*, by P. M. Friesen (1910), *Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten* by Franz Isaac (1908), *Kurzgefaszte Geschichte der Mennoniten Brudergemeinde* by Peter Regier (1901), *Geschichte der Mennoniten Brudergemeinde 1860-1924* by J. F. Harms (1924), *Abrisz der Geschichte der Mennoniten*, Vol. III by C. H. Wedel (1901), *The Story of the Mennonites* by C. Henry Smith (1945), the yearbooks of the General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church 1879-1948, the yearbooks of the District Conferences of the Mennonite Brethren Church 1910-1948, and the periodicals: *Zionsbote* published since 1885 and the *Christian Leader* published since 1936.

In treating the topic assigned to me, "Religious and Cultural Background of the Mennonite Brethren," I shall deal with, I. The Mennonite Brethren in Russia, and II. The Mennonite Brethren in North America. In recent years the Mennonite Brethren Church has also spread, through its foreign mission activities, to India, China, Africa and to Colombia, South America, and has also been transplanted to Paraguay and Brazil through immigration. I shall, however, confine myself to the church in Russia and in North America.

The Mennonite Brethren in Russia

A colony of Mennonites, mostly of Dutch origin, migrated from East Prussia into South Russia in 1788. Here they settled the following year at Chortitz, Province Ekaterinoslav. In 1803 a still larger group migrated from Prussia into South Russia and established the Molotschna settlement in the province Taurida, further south.

These colonists struggled with poverty and hardships in their

pioneer years but ultimately succeeded in making their settlements some of the most prosperous in the Czar's domain. They were given a limited amount of self-government, exemption from military service, and freedom of religion.

There was a lack of ministers and of religious leaders from the beginning and the spiritual life in the colonies apparently declined during the first half century. Educationally there was likewise retrogression and the schools prior to 1850 were of an inferior quality.

Beginning with 1845 a religious awakening spread over the colonies. Several factors contributed toward this. In 1835 a new group of settlers had come from Prussia and established themselves in the village of Gnadenfeld, Molotschna. They had formerly come in touch with the Moravian Brethren Church and had received an inspiration and stimulus from the same. This group exerted some influence on their surroundings and were later the center of new religious life. Another source influencing the spiritual awakening came from the south, where a settlement of Evangelical Lutheran Pietists had settled at New Hoffnung. This church called Edward Wuest from Germany as its pastor and he served them from 1845 until his death in 1859. Wuest was a tall, well-built man, was a powerful personality and a very effective speaker, of deep emotions and of strong religious convictions.

Wuest's work had a remarkable influence on his own congregation as well as on the neighboring Mennonites. Many of them visited the annual mission festivals which Wuest instituted and some also his regular church services. The result was that Wuest gained a remarkable influence over the Mennonite colonies. In various places groups began to meet for prayer and devotional study of the Bible.

Those participating in such gatherings called themselves "Brethren" while those opposed to their meetings called them "Brethren" in ridicule. This revived religious life was suppressed rather than nurtured by many and even the ministers and elders took the side opposing the movement. Some unsound manifestations accompanied the movement in its early stage and this was partly the reason why some stood aloof from the movement.

These brethren insisted on church discipline and a cleansing of the church of its worldly element. Since this was not done, they asked the elders to hold a separate communion service with them. This the elders refused to do. A group of the brethren then, in December, 1859, held communion services among themselves. This event soon became known and caused a great turmoil in the Mennonite Church. Some of the Brethren were called before the church and asked to apologize. They, however, justified their action and claimed scriptural ground for the step they had taken.

On January 6, 1860, a number of the Brethren met in the village of Elizabetthal, Molotschna, and took steps to form a separate church. They drew up a written statement addressed to the elders of the Molotschna colony in which they declared themselves an independent church within the Mennonite Brotherhood. They adopted the name, Mennonite Brethren Church. This document was signed by 18 men who thus formed the first Mennonite Brethren Church. Abraham Cornelsen, John Claassen and Heinrich Hiebert appeared to have been among the leading men.

The church elders thereupon met and forbade this organization and ordered that no separate religious meetings should be held by the Brethren. They also referred this matter to the political council of the colony. This council forbade under heavy penalty all religious meetings of a private or secret nature.

Several years of acute trials and of strained relationships followed. The young church, however, was able to continue. Through the prolonged efforts of John Claassen in which he visited the higher authorities in St. Petersburg, the Mennonite Brethren Church at last received a legal status in the Mennonite Colony. The church was also established in the older Colony, Chortitz, where it likewise met with persecution and passed through a period of severe testings.

In its position, the M. B. Church strongly stressed conversion, a life of prayer and a conduct consistent with the teachings of the Bible. The immersion form of baptism upon a personal confession of faith in Christ was early instituted and has become the established practice in the Mennonite Brethren Church. Church discipline was practiced. On May 30, 1860, the church met and elected Heinrich Huebert as elder and Jacob Becker as minister. In spite of difficulties within the church and oppression from without, the church continued to grow and to spread.

The years 1865-1872 mark a period of peace, prosperity, and of rapid growth for the M. B. Church. The Molotschna congregation with its center at Rueckenau was fortunate in securing a number of strong and devout men as leaders, such as Jacob Jantz, Christian Schmidt, John J. Fast, and Abraham Schellenberg. The Chortitz church, centered in the large village Einlage, increased even more rapidly and for some years was the largest M. B. congregation. Its early ministers and leading men were Abraham Unger and Aaron Lepp. In 1873 Elder Heinrich Huebert moved to the new Kuban settlement east of the Black Sea where an M. B. Church likewise developed. The church also spread to the new settlements such as Friedensfeld, Tiege-Sagradofka, to a settlement east of the Don River, to Mariapol and still further east to the Volga River.

The several M. B. churches convened for the first time as a

conference May 14 to 16, 1872. The congregations at Chortitz, Molotschna and Kuban participated. At this time the total communicant membership numbered 600.

Since then a conference was held annually until the revolution following World War I, when conditions made this impossible. Home mission effort which consisted of itinerating ministerial work (*Reisepredigt*), and evangelistic services in the congregations was a prominent feature of church activities.

A confession of faith was drawn up in 1873, adopted by the Conference and printed in 1876. This confession of faith was thoroughly revised in 1900 and adopted by the Conference as well as by the separate churches. It was published at Halbstadt in 1902. Later the M. B. Church in North America adopted this confession of faith as its statement of belief and conduct, and in 1917 had it translated into the English and published.

Through the emigration to America, beginning 1874 and continuing to 1880, drew from the church considerably, the number again increased after this period and in 1885 when the church celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, the M. B. Church had a total membership of 1,800. It had four elders and thirty-five ministers. There were seven congregations with church buildings, and a total of 17 places where they congregated.

A period of industrial and economic expansion and growth among the Mennonites of Russia marked the three decades following 1885. This was accompanied with a rapid advance in education and cultural life. Village schools were greatly improved. Higher institutions of learning, known as Centralschulen, were established at various centers. A school for the deaf and dumb was established. A mental hospital was built.

The Mennonite Brethren Church did not establish its own schools or other institutions but cooperated with the existing Mennonite bodies and thus contributed its share and also reaped of the benefits. The larger congregations erected fine imposing church buildings.

The church continued its home mission effort and in 1890 began its foreign mission among the Telugus of the Hyderabad State in South India where it sent Rev. and Mrs. Abraham Friesen as its first missionaries. In 1903 Abraham Kroeker began to edit and publish the periodical "*Friedenstimme*" which he continued until 1920. This paper became the generally accepted organ of the M. B. Church in Russia.

The church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1910. At this time it numbered 6,000 members and had spread to include congregations at Orenburg in eastern Russia, at Omsk, Siberia, and also in Poland.

With the coming of the First World War, the revolution with its period of chaos and the famine that followed, calamities and untold sufferings became the fate of the Mennonite Brethren as well as of all the other Mennonites in Russia. The change to an atheistic and communistic government made it impossible for the church to maintain itself. The Second World War and the resulting displacement of millions of people again brought the Mennonites, still existing in Russia, to public attention, when many fled into central Europe. Large numbers of them including numerous members of the M. B. Church have been helped through the MCC and other agencies to find their way into the New World. We cannot speak of a functioning M. B. Church in Russia since 1929.

The Mennonite Brethren in North America

The Settlement of the Mennonite Brethren in North America

In 1870 the government of Russia instituted universal military service in its empire. The Mennonites, who had thus far enjoyed complete exemption from any such service, were in danger of losing their privilege for the government decreed that the Mennonite colonists should be under obligation to render military service beginning with 1880. This order was later modified so that Mennonite young men served in the forestry department instead. Nevertheless, many decided to emigrate and seek a home in some other country.

In 1874 emigration to the United States and Canada set in. In the decade which followed many left Russia to establish their home in America. C. H. Wedel estimates that about 10,000 Mennonites immigrated into the United States and Canada while C. Henry Smith, when comparing early documents, comes to the conclusion that about 10,000 immigrated into the United States and 8,000 into Canada. Those coming to the U. S. settled mainly in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Dakota, while those going to Canada made their home in Manitoba.

The Mennonites did not form closed colonies as they had done in Russia, yet they usually settled together in larger colonies. They were fortunate in procuring some of the most fertile farm land of the Middle West where they settled at first in villages. Those in the U. S. soon abandoned the arrangement of living in villages while those in Canada continued to do so for a long time, and some even to the present. The vast majority of these early settlers were of the poorer classes and had little capital when they arrived. In early years they struggled with poverty, yet with strenuous effort nearly all of them were able to procure and own farm-homes. Older Mennonite settlements in the eastern states rendered valuable assistance to them. Through their industry, thrift, and economic way of living they came to prosperity,

and after several decades, had transformed their communities into some of the most prosperous farm regions of the Middle West.

The new Mennonite settlers immediately took care of their spiritual needs, began services in homes and school houses and as soon as they found it possible, erected simple church buildings and organized themselves into local churches. Many of those who in Russia had belonged to the regular Mennonite Church joined the General Conference of Mennonites. Most of those in Manitoba formed church organizations of their own. The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren who came over as a body and settled in Marion County and McPherson County, Kansas, organized themselves and continued as a separate conference.

Among these immigrants were about two hundred families of the Mennonite Brethren Church and most of these were not among the first groups that came. A few of the Brethren settled in Harvey and Reno County, Kansas, in 1874, and some more came into this community later. This group established the congregation Ebenezer, east of Buhler. A large congregation in Marion County, Kansas, in the area that is today south of Hillsboro, began in 1875. This resulted in the Ebenfeld Church. Similar congregations began in Goessel, Lehigh, and a little later in Marion and Hillsboro, Kansas. The one at Marion joined the German Baptist Church in 1895 and the one at Goessel ultimately discontinued. The other congregations have grown and are functioning churches at present.

A Mennonite Brethren congregation began in Hamilton and York County, Nebraska, in 1876 which soon grew rapidly and became one of the largest of all M. B. congregations. This is now known as the Henderson M. B. Church. Several smaller congregations began in Nebraska, one in Boone County which later discontinued and one at Jansen which has recently also discontinued. Of the Mennonite Brethren, coming from the Volga settlement in Russia, early congregations were formed at Eldorado, Sutton, Hastings, and Culbertson. Of these only Culbertson has continued to the present. A congregation also began in Turner County, South Dakota, in 1876, which is today known as the Dolton or Silver Lake M. B. Church.

Among the Mennonites settling in Cottonwood County, Minnesota, 1875-1876, were several members of the M. B. Church. These began their own services and through baptism of new converts and the coming of later immigrants, a church of more than one hundred grew up in a few years. This congregation was for sometime one of the largest of the M. B. Church and for many years was centered in the rural community at Bingham

Lake. It has ultimately developed into two congregations, those of Mountain Lake and Carson.

The Establishment of the Church

The home life of the early Mennonite Brethren was marked with simplicity, piety, and religious fervor. Daily family worship was generally practiced. Where several families came together for a visit they would usually conclude the same with a short devotional service. In localities where they did not yet have their place of worship they would assemble in the homes for their Sunday meetings.

The local congregations in early years filled a very important spiritual function in the life of the members and church meetings were well attended. The Sunday morning service usually consisted in hearty congregational singing, a short prayer service and two sermons. The Sunday School, which was instituted almost immediately, was for many years conducted on Sunday afternoon. Young People's Societies began in the larger congregations in the early nineties. These as a rule held their meetings on Sunday afternoons after the Sunday School or in the evenings, and they proved to be of great value to the young people of the church. Church choirs are mentioned at an early date, and worship in song occupied an important place in the services, giving opportunity for self-expression.

The church held to the plurality of ministers until recently and in many parts still does. In larger congregations an elder would be the leader of the church and would be assisted by three or four other ministers and several deacons. These elders, ministers, and deacons were elected by the church and after they had been approved in their work they were ordained. The ministry was not professional in the sense that it was trained in an institution or employed by the church for fulltime service with a stipulated salary. These men usually made their living by farming, and where need arose received some support from the members in an informal way. Their ministry, however, gave evidence of deep consecration to God and their messages showed that they had attained a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures through constant study of the same, and they manifested a grave concern for the spiritual welfare of the individual members. Pastoral house-to-house visitation was much practiced by this type of ministry.

The M. B. Church in America apparently lacked strong leadership in the five years prior to 1879. In the five following years, however, a number of outstanding men either came with later immigrating groups or emerged from the existing congregations. Among those who have had a leading part in establishing the church and who have left their impress on the same were Abra-

ham Schellenberg, Cornelius Wedel, Johann Foth, and David Dyck in Kansas; J. J. Regehr in Nebraska; Heinrich Adrian in South Dakota; and Heinrich Voth in Minnesota. Some of these men have stood at the lead of the church for four decades.

In the fall of 1879 representatives from the several churches met at Henderson, Nebraska, and organized themselves as a Conference for the spiritual upbuilding of the church and for united action in its various activities. Such a Conference was held annually in one of the larger congregations until 1909 when it subdivided the area into districts so that an annual district conference would be held in each district. The M. B. General Conference has since convened only once in three years. These conferences have had a prominent place in the history of the M. B. Church and have been of great importance in establishing the church and in directing its various avenues of activity.

The Growth and Spread of the Church

The growth and spread of the M. B. Church during its seventy-five years of history in North America may conveniently be divided into three periods of nearly equal length. From 1874 to 1900 the church had not only established itself in the localities already mentioned but it also spread into new areas. Through effective home mission effort a congregation materialized near Winkler, Manitoba in 1888, the first in Canada. It grew into one of the largest in the Conference. Several years later small congregations began in the regions near Dalmeny and Hepburn, Saskatchewan. There were beginnings of churches in North Dakota, Colorado, Texas, and Oregon. The most noted expansion was, however, in Oklahoma where the United States Government opened vast tracts of land for homesteads and many young farmers from M. B. congregations in Kansas and some from Nebraska settled on these lands. Churches sprang up at Corn, Gotebo, Okeene, Suedhoffnungsfeld near Isabella, Nordhoffnungsfeld near Fairview, Enid, and Medford.

Statistics for this period are meager. The earliest are published in the "Zionsbote" No. 2, 1888, which are quoted by P. M. Friesen and given as follows: Churches and places of worship - 18; membership-1,266; elders-7; ordained ministers and deacons-29; unordained-23. At the close of the nineteenth century the membership of the M. B. Church in America was probably a little over 2,000.

During the period 1900 to 1924 the church continued to increase steadily in numbers and also to spread into new areas, the most noted ones centered around Herbert, Saskatchewan and in the states of Montana, Michigan, Western Nebraska, Eastern and Western Oklahoma, and California where a number of large congregations soon grew up. The total church membership in

1924 stood at 8,422.

The period 1924 to 1949 shows a very rapid increase of the church in Canada. This increase was mainly due to the immigration of many Mennonites from Russia between 1923-1930, among whom a fair percentage was of the Mennonite Brethren group. These either joined existing M. B. congregations or formed new ones where they settled. Through this influx the M. B. Church not only gained in numbers, but also received some strong leaders, able ministers, and well qualified teachers, who have contributed much toward the religious and cultural advance of the M. B. Church in Canada. Of special note among these are Herman Neufeld, Abr. H. Unruh, John G. Wiens, H. H. Janzen, Isaac Regehr, B. B. Janz, J. A. Toews, J. A. Harder, C. C. Peters, C. F. Klassen, F. C. Thiessen, Jac. W. Reimer. At the present the church in Canada is well represented in the provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia.

In the United States the church shows a steady growth during this time, but not a noted further spread into new territory. Here its constituency is composed of three district conferences: the Central District Conference comprises the congregations of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Nebraska; the Southern District Conference comprises the churches of Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and Colorado, and the Pacific District Conference constitutes the churches of California, Oregon, and Washington.

The total membership of the M. B. Church, according to the latest statistics compiled by A. A. Schroeter, as of January 1, 1948, is 19,169. Of these, 9,590 represent 59 congregations in the United States and 9,579 in 83 congregations in Canada.

The Church in Its Organization and Activities

The M. B. Church has continued to hold to its doctrinal position and practices to the present. Some changes and modifications have, however, come in recent years. In the U. S. there has been an almost complete change in its worship service from the use of the German language to that of the English. In Canada, however, the German language is mostly held to.

The General M. B. Conference has remained the channel through which the church as a whole has maintained itself and has conducted its activities. In 900 the Conference drew up a charter to incorporate itself under the state laws of Kansas. In 1906 it drew up a constitution to regulate its activities. This constitution underwent a thorough revision in 1936 and was enlarged to cover the newer departments of Conference activities. The spiritual welfare of the church is supervised by a Committee of Reference and Counsel and the property and funds are taken care of by

a Board of Trustees. Boards elected by the Conference direct its publication work, foreign missions, city missions, educational efforts, relief work, and youth interests. The four district conferences confine themselves mainly to their home mission programs, care of the churches in their respective areas, and matters of local interest.

Missions have been at the heart of the M. B. Church from its very beginning. The constituency has usually been liberal with its offerings for missions and many young people have consecrated themselves for this service. Home mission effort occupied a very important place at the first Conference in 1879, and has ever since played a prominent part in the role of the M. B. Church. The continuous evangelistic meetings in churches have accounted for numerous revivals, many conversions, and the rapid increase of the church. Mission activities normally known as extension work have been done in various localities. Of special note is the work among the Russians in Saskatchewan and North Dakota and later in parts of Canada. This resulted in the formation of several Russian M. B. congregations. Work among Mexicans in Oklahoma and Texas has also resulted in conversions among these people and the beginning of congregations. Recently a mission among Jews in Winnipeg, Manitoba was begun. A city mission under the direction of the General Conference has been conducted at Minneapolis since 1910 and several city missions have been carried on by the district conferences.

The church in early years felt a special urge to do foreign mission work and began the first mission of its own among the Comanche Indians of Oklahoma in 1894. A mission to the Telugus of South India was begun in 1899 and since then the Conference has taken over fields in China, Belgian Congo, Africa, and in Paraguay, Colombia, and Brazil, South America.

In its publication activities the M. B. Church made its beginning in 1884, when the Conference elected a committee of three to arrange for editing and printing a church paper. This resulted in the publication of the *Zionsbote* in 1885 with J. F. Harms as editor. At first the *Zionsbote* appeared quarterly, since 1886 monthly, and since 1889 weekly. It is still the M. B. Church organ and is printed in German but sometimes contains articles in English. It has proved to be a most valuable means for uniting the church and for giving expression to its life and activities.

J. F. Harms began an M. B. Publishing House at Medford, Oklahoma in 1898. The press was, however, moved to McPherson, Kansas in 1907 where the church established a publishing house under the management of A. L. Schellenberg who also became editor of the *Zionsbote* at that time. In 1912 the Conference transferred its publishing interests to Hillsboro, Kans, where it erected

a publishing house in 1913 and its publication interests have since centered here. P. H. Berg has served as business manager of the Publishing House from 1929 to 1948 and as editor of the *Zionsbote* from 1929 to the present. The *Christian Leader* has been published as a monthly paper from 1936 to 1948 and has since then appeared twice a month. It has been of special value in interesting the young people in their church and its activities.

The need of an M. B. Conference school was felt by some of the leading brethren as early as 1883 when they gave their expression to this at the Conference. A private school was begun by J. F. Harms at Canada, Kansas in 1884. The course of study which was of an elementary nature included German, English, and Bible. A school association (Schulverein) took over this school in 1886, removed it to Lehigh, Kansas and continued it two years longer. Some of the students of this school later became leading men of the M. B. Conference, among these being P. H. Wedel, M. M. Just, J. H. Pankratz, and A. L. Schellenberg. Another school association was formed at Buhler, Kansas a few years later and it established a similar school. J. F. Duerksen, a teacher who had recently come from Russia, was engaged to conduct the school. The school was discontinued a few years later.

The M. B. Conference undertook its first educational project at McPherson, Kansas in 1899 when by an arrangement with the faculty and Board of Trustees of McPherson College a German department school was begun in the college building. This school was conducted until 1904 when it was discontinued due to lack of support. Of the students educated in this school several noted leaders of the M. B. Church and Conference have come forth, such as D. F. Bergthold, H. S. Voth, J. H. Voth, F. J. Wiens, H. W. Lohrenz, P. C. Hiebert, H. F. Toews.

Through the efforts of H. W. Lohrenz and J. K. Hiebert, a school association was formed during the winter of 1907-1908. It represented those of the M. B. Church and of the K.M.B. Church interested in education. Through a Board of Directors elected by the school association, funds were collected and Tabor College was built at Hillsboro, Kansas. The first school term began in September, 1908, with H. W. Lohrenz, P. C. Hiebert, and P. P. Rempel as teaching staff. These were joined the following year by D. E. Harder and H. F. Toews. The school continued under the direction of the association until 1933 when the General M. B. Conference took it over and has since conducted it through its Board of Education.

The educational efforts and interests of the M. B. Church have for the past forty-one years largely centered in Tabor College. The school has supplied to the churches many ministers and

other useful workers; to the Conference, evangelists and missionaries; to the various communities, many school teachers and to society at large numerous other useful workers.

Other M. B. schools should also be mentioned which have likewise had an important part in training the young people of the church. The Corn Bible School and Academy, begun 1905, has had an important place chiefly for the churches in Oklahoma. The Immanuel Bible School and Academy at Reedley, California shows a large enrollment of students from the West Coast. In 1944 the M. B. Pacific District Conference opened Pacific Bible Institute at Fresno, California, and this school meets a definite need among the churches of the West Coast.

In Canada a number of M. B. educational institutions have sprung up. The first was the Bible School at Herbert, Saskatchewan, begun in 1909. Later similar Bible Schools were started at Winkler, Manitoba, Hepburn, Saskatchewan, Coaldale, Alberta, and other places. At present there are nine Bible Schools and five church high schools serving the Canadian M. B. Church. In 1944 the Canadian M. B. Conference established the M. B. Bible College, Winnipeg, Manitoba, for training ministers for the churches, teachers for the Bible Schools, evangelists for the Conference, and missionaries for the foreign field.

The Mennonite Brethren Church looks back over its past history in humble gratitude to God for His gracious leading and exclaims, "What hath God wrought!" In surveying its present situation and environment it realizes that there are serious dangers and grave responsibilities. In looking into the future it envisages challenging opportunities for expansion and advance.

MISSIONARY INTERESTS AMONG THE MENNONITE BRETHREN

G. W. Peters

THE impartial student of the Mennonite Brethren Church cannot avoid the impression that missions is a part of the religious life of the movement.

It is incorporated in their very concept of the Christian life. Missions is an inner necessity, a natural expression of a Christian duty and privilege. This was so from the very beginning of the movement. Years before an organization was formed for a more regulated work, members by their own initiative were engaging in evangelism, bringing the gospel to their neighbors. In fact, it may be said that the "brethren" were a mission movement rather than a church organization in the beginning. This emphasis upon missions has never ceased and numerous members have volunteered for foreign and home mission services while others have sacrificed of their means to make the services possible. At present the denomination has undertaken an almost impossible task for its small constituency.

In view of his general statement we wish to review briefly the specific factors contributing towards the awakening of mission interest in the Mennonite Brethren Church and the expression of the interest of foreign missions.

In our consideration of the major factors contributing towards the awakening of mission interest in the Mennonite Brethren Church, we wish to describe briefly five of them as follows: (1) The influence of the Moravian Brethren upon the Mennonites; (2) The Circulation of Missionary Literature and occasional visits by foreign missionaries; (3) The Ministry of Pastor Edward Wuest, a Wuertemburg Pietist; (4) The Contacts with the Mennonites of Holland; (5) Contacts with the Baptists of Germany.

It must be indicated that all of these factors exerted their influence not only upon the Mennonite Brethren Church but on the Mennonite fraternity in South Russia as a whole since all of them antedate 1860, the birthyear of the Mennonite Brethren Church. But it can be fairly stated that these impacts found their deepest appreciation and fullest expression in the people who later formed the Mennonite Brethren Church.

The Moravian Brethren

It is generally known that already in 1732, the Moravian Brethren began mission work by sending some of their numbers forth as "foreign evangelists." Under the influence and leadership of

Count von Zinzendorf they developed an admirable mission zeal and a spirit of heroism and sacrifice in foreign mission work.

Under the providence of God, this zeal was carried over into the Mennonite communities of Russia along two different channels until it burst forth as a bright shining light.

A letter dated June 30, 1827 at Bethelsdorf, addressed to Tobias Voth of Russia and signed by Gottlob Martin Schneider, Bishop of the Moravian Brethren, shows that a friendly relationship existed between some of the elders of the Russian Mennonites and the Moravian Brethren of Germany. It also indicates that already at this time the Russian Mennonites contributed from their funds to the cause of foreign missions and that the Moravian mission literature was introduced into the Mennonite communities. Just how these early contacts had been established cannot be ascertained, but it can justly be assumed that it was the work of Tobias Voth, who had been exposed to pietistic as well as Moravian influences in West Prussia prior to his coming to Russia as a teacher in the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century. At any rate, it is known that he had been acquainted with the Moravian mission work through his own church in West Prussia, that he was a mission-minded man, that he established mission study groups, and introduced annual mission festivals, corresponded with the Moravian Mission headquarters, forwarded funds to them from Russia, introduced Moravian missionary literature into the Mennonite communities, and that his letters conveyed friendly greetings from Russian Mennonite elders to the Moravian headquarters.

Thus it can be assumed that Tobias Voth served as one of the earliest agents to channel the mission influences of the pioneers of modern missions, the Moravian Brethren, into the Mennonite communities of Russia.

A second and more direct flow came through the Gnadenfeld Church, which has a rather interesting history.

The Gnadenfeld Church, prior to its migration in 1835 from Brenkenisofswalde near Driesen, West Prussia, to South Russia had enjoyed the closest fellowship with the Moravian Brethren. In fact, it had been under the supervision of Herrnhut for some time and was represented by Herrnhut in all official and political matters from 1912 to 1935.

Owing to such relationship, the church was visited by Moravian ministers and was well acquainted with their mission endeavors.

The consequences of such relationships were "a better knowledge of the Scriptures, a more vital Christianity, and an understanding and love for missions and education."

It was from this church that Tobias Voth, the above mentioned teacher and propagator of missions had come, and it was in this church that Pastor Wuest, years later, found an open door and an enthusiasm for his mission interest; it was in this church where before the close of the first half of the past century regular annual mission festivals came to be observed, where during the winter months weekly mission study and prayer meetings were held and where the ladies of the church gathered to prepare articles for mission sales, the income from which articles was forwarded to various mission societies.

Thus it is amply proved that the Gnadenfeld Church, through its early relation with the Moravian Brethren, had sufficiently absorbed the mission interest to carry it over from Prussia into Russia, to continue in the same spirit, and to become the centre of mission interest and participation in the Mennonite communities of Russia.

It is important to note that a group from the Gnadenfeld Church later seceded to form the nucleus of the Mennonite Brethren Church, thus carrying the mission spirit over into the new movement and making it a mission church from the very beginning.

Mission Literature

We have seen already how the Moravian Mission literature found its way into the Mennonite communities. Other reading material soon followed. Thus such German papers as: *Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde*;⁵ *Evangelisches Missions Magazine*⁶; *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt*⁷; *Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*⁸. These were not unknown in Russia and served as definite means of widening the horizon of the people and bring home the responsibility for world evangelism.

Besides such circulating literature, we know of visiting foreign missionaries who were used to stimulate the mission interest. A missionary Moritz is mentioned in a letter of the third decade of the previous century. He is said to have visited the church at Lichtenau. A certain missionary Saltet (most probably of the

5. Note: Official monthly publication of the "Gossnersche Missionsgesellschaft" Berlin.

6. Note: Official monthly publication of the "Gossnersche Missions Gesellschaft" Basel.

7. Note: Official monthly periodical of the "Hermannsburg Missions-Gesellschaft" Hermannsburg, Hannover.

8. Note: Also known as "Missionsblatt Barmen", official monthly periodical of the "Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft in Barmen."

Basel Mission) from Tiflis was well acquainted with the Russian Mennonite communities, and in a letter, dated July 27, 1825, he recommended to the Mennonites a missionary to the Jews by the name of Wolf. The Reverend Mr. Schaltter, a Swiss missionary, also was well known to the Mennonites and visited them at several occasions.

Thus the Mennonites of Russia were not completely closed off from wholesome outside influences which made their contribution in the awakening of mission interest.

The Ministry of Pastor Edward Wuest, a Wuerttemberg Pietist.

Perhaps no other single factor has contributed more towards a genuine religious and missionary awakening among the Mennonites of Russia than the ministry of Pastor Edward Wuest.

The influence of Pastor Wuest has been variously evaluated and criticized. Yet so much is admitted; Wuest was a genuine Christian, a thorough student of the Word of God, a forceful and fearless speaker, a strong leader, an enthusiastic and energetic evangelist, a sympathetic shepherd of his flock, and a zealous propagator of missions.

Pastor Edward Wuest came to South Russia from Wuerttemberg, Germany, to serve as pastor of a "Separatist Evangelical Church of the Brethren"³ in Neuhoftnung, near the city of Berdyansk. Prior to his ministry in Russia he had qualified as a Lutheran minister, taking his studies at the University of Tuebingen. He soon disagreed, however, with his superiors because of his pietistic tendencies. Through the influences of Mr. Hoffmann, one of Wuest's friends, the needy field among the Separatist groups in South Russia was opened to him, and Wuest responded to the call.

Already before Wuest's coming to Neuhoftnung in 1845, cordial relations had existed between the Mennonites and the Separatists, especially was this so between the Gnadenfeld Church and Heuhoftnung. This relationship of the Mennonites with an outside group was soon to prove a channel of greatest blessings to the Mennonite communities.

Pastor Wuest sustained friendly relationships with the Pietists, the Moravian Brethren, and the Methodists of Germany and laboured in his full capacity to reproduce the personal piety, evangelistic fervor, and the mission interest of the above movements in his own church in Newhoftnung. Through his influence mission festivals were conducted, mission study groups organiz-

3. Note: For a study of this group in Russia see: "Die Separierte evangelische Bruedergemeinde in Russland" by Prof. Dr. Karl Lindsman, *Schriften des Deutschen Ausland-Instituts Stuttgart*.

ed, mission sewing circles begun, and much mission literature distributed. In all of these activities the Mennonite church of Gnadenfeld closely co-operated. Such co-operation naturally extended Pastor Wuest's services into the Mennonite colony.

It can truly be said that his ministry was appreciated and his messages were most inspiring. His presence at the annual mission festival was a blessing not only because of his wealth of information on mission matters. During his visits to the Mennonite villages he always carried some mission literature with him and this he would read and discuss wherever opportunity would present itself to him. Through his aid the mission activities, such as study groups, prayer meetings, sewing circles, etc., were greatly strengthened and more funds gathered for foreign missions. Thus a greater vision was created and a fire kindled which is burning to this very day.

Holland Mennonites

Owing to some economic and social factors, the Mennonites of Holland were pressing forward more than their brethren in other countries in education and benevolent and missionary work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In 1709 they organized the "Committee for Foreign Needs" which sent large sums of money to the Swiss Mennonites and helped many in America.

In 1780 "The Society for the Extension of Knowledge and for the Establishment of the Christian Religion" was organized. Various institutions, schools, and a seminary in connection with the University of Amsterdam were established. These institutions, especially the seminary made for efficient leadership, a more unified church program, and a broadened vision, qualifications which were not without influence in the direction of the development of mission interest among the Mennonites in Europe.

Speaking of the beginning of active participation of the Dutch Mennonites in foreign mission work, the Reverend T. Kuiper⁵ gives us the following information.

As early as 1824 the Dutch Mennonites organized an association to assist with funds the English Baptists in their mission undertakings. Towards the end of the second quarter of the century, however, the interest began to wane and it seemed as though the Association would come to nought. To save the

5. Note: Reverend T. Kuiper was the secretary of the society in Amsterdam at the time when he wrote his report on the origin of the society. This report is published in: *Jahrbuch der Altevangelischen Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten Gemeinden*. Editor: H. G. Mannhardt, Danzig, 1888. Report, pp. 98-105.

situation the directors of the Association in Amsterdam, Professors S. Mueller, and W. Cnoop Koopmans, and Messrs, J. Slagregen and A. de Haan, after having consulted the Baptist headquarters in England, decided to reorganize the mission endeavors of the Mennonites of Holland. The result of such undertaking was the creation of an independent Mennonite Mission society, "Die Taufgesinnte Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung des Evangeliums in den Niederlaendischen ueberseeischen Besitzungen". This reorganization took place in 1849. Only two years later, May, 1851, the Society was able to send its first missionary, Reverend Peter Jantz to Java to commence a Mennonite mission enterprise.

The news of such a move on the part of the Mennonites of Holland was well received by the Mennonites of Germany and Russia and gave the mission interest a new impetus. Contributions which heretofore had been sent to various other mission societies were now directed to the mission treasury of the new Mennonite Mission Society. From Russia the churches of Gnadenfeld and Liebenau are mentioned as early contributors.

The interest increased to such an extent that when the new society opened work in Sumatra in 1869, Reverend Heinrich Dirks of Gnadenfeld, Russia was sent out for the new undertaking, with the Russian Mennonites supporting the cause. Thus the mission interest was alive and active. And even though the Mennonite Brethren Church had separated itself from the general body of Mennonites and Reverend Heinrich Dirks belonged to the "Mennonite Church", these movements could not fail to touch the Mennonite Brethren and contribute greatly to the nourishment of the evergrowing mission interest.

The German Baptists

Although the contacts of the Mennonites of Russia with the Baptists are not quite so early as some of the others were, it must be admitted that the example and influence of the Baptists were a blessing to the Mennonites and contributed much towards the building up of the mission interest.

Baptist mission literature was read as early as 1837; only later, however, personal contacts are mentioned. Thus the German Baptist missionary in South Russia, J. G. Onken, exercised a great influence over the Mennonite Brethren Church in its formative years and visited them at several occasions; A. Liebig, K. Benzien, W. Baedeker, all German Baptist missionaries, found their way into the Mennonite communities in Russia and became determining factors in the building up of sound principles and policies in mission work. Especially strong was their influence in the newly formed Mennonite Brethren Church and here their leadership in the aggressive evangelism among the native Russians is very notable. A strong bond of cooperation between the

Baptists of Germany and the Mennonite Brethren Church existed for many years as we shall see somewhat later.

Thus various factors combined to awaken the Mennonites, including the Mennonites Brethren Church, to participation in world-missions.

The Expression of Interest in Foreign Missions

It is impossible to do justice in a few pages to do the extent of the Expression of the Interest of foreign Mission and we shall therefore limit ourselves to the conference organization for and attitude towards foreign missions; the volunteers from the ranks of young people; 2nd the fields for which the Conference is responsible.

Contrary to the experience of some other denominations the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America early in its history overcame the idea of leaning on another denomination for expression of its foreign mission interest and determined to stand on its own feet, support and guides its own work and shoulder heavy responsibilities. On the other hand it rejected the idea, of forming an Association related to the Conference but not necessarily marshaling the whole body and every individual member for the cause of foreign missions. Both ideas were well represented. However, leading brethren interpreted both principles as marks of weakness and determined that the Mennonite Brethren Church must not become guilty of either of them.

After years of struggles the Conference found itself unified internally and independent of other relationships outwardly and moved courageously in the year 1898 into the field for mission activities. The mission interest and zeal combined with a sense of duty and responsibility now had found a proper avenue of expression and expressed itself in a most sacrificial and steady way. History is the witness that the Conference has never faltered in its undertaking nor turned aside from its initial determination. In the Mennonite Brethren Church every member is expected to have a direct share financially and in prayer in the cause of foreign missions. Any member that does not directly contribute to this work is considered spiritually weak and not in proper relationship with the purposes of the conference or the Lord. Without hesitation we interpret the mind of the conference as considering its main work and supreme duty the evangelization of heathen who are still in darkness. Take foreign missions out of the General Conference sessions and you have almost cut them in half; take foreign missions out of our schools and the support will dwindle; take foreign missions from the Mennonite Brethren Church and you have taken the supreme task and purpose, yea the heart out of it.

Interest in Missions

Someone has stated that the thermometer of the spiritual life of a church is its foreign mission interest. If such interest can be measured by the number volunteers, the Mennonite Brethren Church is well off. The Mennonite Brethren Church has had more volunteers for foreign missions than the Conference is able to place on its fields or support financially. While it is true that in former years the Board of Foreign Missions has had to approach people and ask them to apply for foreign missions this did not happen because of unwillingness to sacrifice all and go but rather because of lack of training in the homes, churches and schools and modesty on the part of the young people. In latter years, due to a change in training young people have boldly come forward as volunteers for foreign missions. The Board of Foreign Missions has been flooded with applications from young people willing and eager to go forth into the foreign fields. It has been our privilege to acquaint ourselves with numerous young men and women who are willing to sacrifice to be able to go out into foreign mission service. Dedication services at mission conferences have been most fruitful and large numbers of our college and institute graduates are looking forward to service in the foreign field. From the seventeen graduates of the Pacific Bible Institutes this year thirteen are definitely contemplating service in the mission work.

Not only has the Board of Foreign Missions received more applications than it is able under the present setup to send out but a large number of volunteers are serving under outside mission while some have gone forth as independent workers hoping that at some future time they will be accepted by the Conference.

The large number of volunteers for foreign missions service is raising some important questions and grave problems which must find a satisfactory solution if the Conference is to continue in a healthy and unified spirit.

Looking into the field for which the Mennonite Brethren Church has assumed responsibility before God and man some marvel at the courage of the conference and wonder at times whether "blind zeal" and enthusiasm have not triumphed over sound judgement. Had plans of a few years materialized the Conference would have assumed responsibility for some four to five million people with a mission in India three fields in China, two in the Belgian Congo, three in South America and two in North America. The war in China, Conference action at the last General Conference meeting in Minnesota, and a recent action of the Board of Foreign Missions regarding a station in Africa have altered the situation somewhat. However it is noteworthy that a denomination of only twenty thousand members thus spread it-

self into India, China, Belgian Congo, Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay and in North America, Oklahoma, thus preaching the Gospel in four Continents to several million people in some fourteen, fifteen, languages and dialects. The converts almost equal the number of members at home. Only a deepseated, genuine interest in world evangelism makes such achievement possible.

As we come to the manner of the expression of the mission interest we cannot express it clearer and more emphatic than one of the missionaries from the field has summarized it:

"From the beginning the American Mennonite Brethren Missions have been known for their emphasis on *evangelism*. We hope that this will always remain so. Our missionary brothers and sisters in the field have all believed that the evangelistic side of their work should always receive first attention. Everything else they have considered of much lesser importance. Not that other things were to be neglected, but rather that they must be subordinated to the first. They have prayed and thought much about the best ways and means of carrying the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the million and a half people comprising the population of our mission field in India. Out of this vast number thus far only twelve thousand have been won for Christ. Thus the great majority must still be reached.

There is only one way of reaching India's people and that is by going to them in village, town, and hamlet."

Consistent with this emphasis on evangelism the missionary expects and is expected to spend much of his time touring through his field to bring the gospel to every village of his territory, while on the other hand National workers are primarily trained and engaged for evangelistic services.

The History of the work and numerous reports to conferences and in the Zionsbote will convince any student that evangelism has been the main channel for the expression of the mission interest in the M. B. Churches.

In the mind of the Mennonite Brethren Conference there is room for institutional work such as education and medical service and these methods are more and more appreciated and developed. However, the evangelistic emphasis has so far outweighed all other methods that it still is the manner in which the foreign mission interest finds its supreme expression.

May it please the Lord to increase the interest and channel it into the proper expression and in the right direction to His Own glory and the benefit of the denomination and the world as a whole.

REGISTRATION LIST 1949 COFERENCE

Baerg, Rev. J. G.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Bartel, Billie	Hillsboro, Kans.
Bartel, Peter S.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Bartel, Wesley W.	Hoxie, Kans.
Bartel, Mrs. Wesley	Hoxie, Kans.
Bartel, Mrs. Wm.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Berg, P. H.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Blosser, Richard	Newton, Kans.
Bowers, Melvin H.	Beulah College, Upland, Calif.
Byler, J. N.	M.C.C., Akron, Pennsylvania
Byler, Ruth E.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Classen, George L.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Classen, Mrs. George L.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Classen, John L.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Classen, Mrs. John L.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Dyck, Walter H.	Newton, Kans.
Ebel, A. R.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Ebel, Mrs. A. R.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Epp, S. H.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Erb, Paul	Scottsdale, Pennsylvania
Fadenrecht, Bennie	Hillsboro, Kans.
Fadenrecht, Mrs. Bennie	Hillsboro, Kans.
Fadenrecht, George H.	Haskell Hospital, Lawrence, Kans.
Fadenrecht, Mrs. George H. ..	Haskell Hospital, Lawrence, Kans.
Fast, H. A.	North Newton, Kans.
Flaming, E. W.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Flaming, H. H.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Fransen, Henry	Buhler, Kans.
Franz, Leonard J.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Franz, Mrs. Leonard J.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Franzen, J. H.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Fretz, J. W.	North Newton, Kans.
Fretz, Mrs. J. W.	North Newton, Kans.
Friesen, A. L.	Inman, Kans.
Friesen, Gerhard	Newton, Kans.
Friesen, J. W.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Friesen, J. V.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Funk, Mrs. Alvin	Hillsboro, Kans.
Funk, Arnold E.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Funk, F. N.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Funk, Ray N.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Gaeddert, Albert M.	Inman, Kans.
Gerbrandt, J. J.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Gerbrandt, Mrs. J. J.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Gingerich, Melvin	Goshen, Ind.

Gingerich, Mrs. Melvin	Goshen, Ind.
Good, Edna M.	Ontario, Can.
Good, Viola M.	Goshen, Indiana
Goodrun, Charles A.	Wichita, Kans.
Goossen, Sam	Fresno, California
Gross, Harold H.	Freeman, South Dakota
Harder, E. B.	Upland, Calif.
Harder, M. A.	Wichita, Kans.
Harder, Mrs. M. A.	Wichita, Kans.
Harshbarger, Eva (Mrs. E. L.)	North Newton, Kans.
Hiebert, Dr. D. Edmond	Hillsboro, Kans.
Hiebert, Mrs. Erwin	Chicago 37, Ill.
Hiebert, Mrs. P. C.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Hiebert, Waldo	Hillsboro, Kans.
Hildebrandt, J. E.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Hildebrandt, Mrs. J. E.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Hoepfner, D. R.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Hofer, Peter G.	Huron, S. D.
Hofer, Mrs. Peter G.	Huron, S. D.
Jantz, Tobias	Hillsboro, Kans.
Janzen, A. E.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Janzen, Rev. B. H.	Newton, Kans.
Janzen, Erna L.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Jost, Mrs. E. G.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Jost, Ellen	Hillsboro, Kans.
Jost, Marvin	Hillsboro, Kans.
Jost, Melinda	Hillsboro, Kans.
Kauffman, Daniel	Hesston, Kans.
Kaufman, Ed. G.	North Newton, Kans.
Kauffman, J. Howard	Goshen, Indiana
Kauffman, Milo	Hesston, Kans.
Klaassen, F. B.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Klaassen, Mrs. F. B.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Klassen, Dr. G. S.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Klassen, Mrs. G. S.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Klassen, Gerh. Joh.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Kliewer, Marion	Hillsboro, Kans.

PROCEEDINGS
of the seventh
ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON
MENNONITE CULTURAL PROBLEMS

Addendum, page 162.

Koehn, Mrs. John	Hillsboro, Kans.
Koontz, Elbert	Buhler, Kans.
Krahn, C.	North Newton, Kans.
Krahn, Mrs. C.	North Newton, Kans.
Lehman, Chester H.	Harrisonburg, Virginia
Lohrentz, A. M., M.D.	McPherson, Kans.
Lohrentz, Mrs. A. M.	McPherson, Kans.
Lohrentz, Lois	McPherson, Kans.
Lohrenz, Mrs. H. W.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Lohrenz, Menno	Hillsboro, Kans.
Martens, Harry E.	North Newton, Kans.
Martens, Mrs. Harry E.	North Newton, Kans.
Miller, Ernest E.	Goshen, Indiana
Miller, Mrs. Ernest E.	Goshen, Indiana
Neufeld, I. G.	North Newton, Kans.
Neufeldt, Anna	Hillsboro, Kans.
Nickel, Elizabeth W.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Ostertag, F. Sam	Wichita, Kans.
Ostertag, Mrs. F. Sam	Wichita, Kans.
Pahcheka, Max	Hillsboro, Kans.
Pankratz, Dorothy	Hillsboro, Kans.
Penner, William	Hillsboro, Kans.
Peters, G. W.	Fresno, Calif.
Plett, Cornelius F.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Prieb, Wesley J.	Lawrence, Kans.
Prieb, Mrs. Wesley J.	Lawrence, Kans.
Priebe, Adelgunda J.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Quiring, P. F.	Goessel, Kans.
Regier, J. M.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Regier, Sam	Moundridge, Kans.
Regier, Mrs. Sam	Moundridge, Kans.
Riesen, Mrs. Adolph F.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Riesen, F. B.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Ruth, Marjorie	North Newton, Kans.
Schellenberg, P. E.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Schellenberg, Mrs. P. E.	Hillsboro, Kans.
Schmidt, John F.	North Newton, Kans.
Schrag, Menno	Newton, Kans.
Schultz, J. S.	Bluffton, Ohio

Schultz, Orlando A. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Seibel, Mrs. Ed. S. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Shelly, Paul R. Bluffton, Ohio
 Siemens, John Jr. Lawrence, Kans.
 Souder, Elvin B. Souderton, Pennsylvania
 Souder, Mrs. Elvin B. Souderton, Pennsylvania
 Souder, Elvin R. Souderton, Pennsylvania
 Souder, Esther Souderton, Pennsylvania
 Stelting, A. H. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Suderman, David H. North Newton, Kans.
 Suderman, Mrs. David H. North Newton, Kans.
 Suderman, G. W. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Suderman, J. W. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Suderman, Mrs. Peter Hillsboro, Kans.
 Toews, Jacob J. Buhler, Kans.
 Toews, Wilma North Newton, Kans.
 Tully, Bob North Newton, Kans.
 Umble, John Goshen, Ind.
 Unruh, H. T. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Vogt, J. W. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Voth, A. J. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Wall, H. Winnipeg, Man.
 Wall, Henry G. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Wall, Mrs. Henry G. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Warkentin, J. K. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Warkentin, J. W. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Wiebe, Allan Meade, Kans.
 Wiens, Leo S. Hillsboro, Kans.
 Willems, Arnold Hillsboro, Kans.
 Wiens, Agnes J. Hillsboro, Kans.



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